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## **Studies on the illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.**

Niwinski, Andrzej

**Abstract:** The 21st Dynasty (about 1070-945 B.C.) is an extremely interesting period lying on the border line between the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period. The religious ideas of the solar/Osirian unity developing during the Ramesside period, reached their apex in the early 21st Dyn. In the conceptions of the theologians of the theocratic "State of Amun", especially in the field of eschatology. Since the tombs – the main source of the information about the funerary beliefs in the New Kingdom – were no longer decorated, coffins and papyri became the principal bearers of these conceptions, expressed in a most complex iconographic repertoire, which is unparalleled in other periods of Egyptian history. In the 21st Dynasty a great diversity of types of funerary papyri occurred, in which new religious ideas were recorded, hand in hand with traditional concepts. The picture became even more complicated, when some royal compositions, which in the New Kingdom has been reserved for kings only, were adapted by priests in the middle 21st Dynasty in Thebes. The author presents some attempts at classifications of various types of the papyri, 427 of which have been taken into consideration in the book. From this typology some conclusions have been reached concerning the development of the contents and the function of the papyri in the funerary equipment in the period between the New Kingdom and the 22nd Dynasty, as well as a picture of the social stratification of those days in Thebes.

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ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-156842>

Monograph

Published Version

Originally published at:

Niwinski, Andrzej (1989). Studies on the illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C. Freiburg, Switzerland / Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck Ruprecht.

ANDRZEJ NIWIŃSKI

STUDIES ON THE ILLUSTRATED  
THEBAN FUNERARY PAPYRI  
OF THE 11th AND 10th CENTURIES B.C.



Published by the Biblical Institute of the University  
of Fribourg Switzerland  
the Seminar für Biblische Zeitgeschichte  
of the University of Münster i. W. Federal Republic of Germany  
and the Schweizerische Gesellschaft  
für orientalische Altertumswissenschaft  
Editor: Othmar Keel  
Coeditors: Erich Zenger and Albert de Pury

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Andrzej Niwiński, born in Warsaw in 1948, studied Mediterranean archaeology at Warsaw University. He participated in the works of the Polish Mission in Deir el-Bahari 1972–1975. Since 1973 his researches have focused on the 21st Dynasty, and especially on the religious iconography of the period. He spent several years at the Institute of Egyptology of the University of Heidelberg as a research fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (1981–1984). After having studied the coffins of the priests of Amun from Thebes (*21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies* = *THEBEN* vol. 5, Mainz, Ph. v. Zabern 1988) he now investigates the funerary papyri of the period. The author has, besides, contributed a number of articles to various Egyptological periodicals edited in England, France, Germany, Netherlands, Poland and U.S.A. He is also engaged in publishing the catalogues of the 21st Dynasty objects from various important collections including the Egyptian Museums in Cairo and Turin. At present he is employed by the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.

ANDRZEJ NIWIŃSKI

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UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ  
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN  
1989

CIP-Titelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

**Niwinski, Andrzej:**

Studies on the illustrated Theban funerary papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. /

Andrzej Niwinski. – Freiburg, Schweiz: Univ.-Verl.;

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1989

(Orbis biblicus et orientalis; 86)

ISBN 3-7278-0613-3 (Univ.-Verl.) Gb.

ISBN 3-525-53716-6 (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht) Gb.

NE: GT

Publication subsidized by the Fribourg University Council,  
Fribourg Switzerland

Die Textseiten  
wurden vom Herausgeber als reprofertierte  
Dokumente zur Verfügung gestellt

© 1989 by Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz  
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen  
Paulusdruckerei Freiburg Schweiz

ISBN 3-7278-0613-3 (Universitätsverlag)  
ISBN 3-525-53716-6 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

Digitalisat erstellt durch Florina Tischhauser,  
Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar, Universität Zürich

To the Memory  
of  
Dr. Tadeusz Andrzejewski  
(1923 - 1961)  
the most distinguished  
Polish Egyptologist  
and precursor  
of the research  
into funerary papyri  
in Poland



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### Acknowledgements of copyrights of the illustrations

The photographs reproduced on the Pls. 1-49 present, with few exceptions, so far unpublished materials. For permission for their publication, thanks are due to the following Institutions:

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Abbreviations and Bibliography

A	- Amduat
ASAE	- Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo
BD	- Book of the Dead
BES	- Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York
BIFAO	- Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
BM	- British Museum
BMMA	- Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
BSFE	- Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, Paris
CAA	- Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CdE	- Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels
CG	- Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo
EM	- Egyptian Museum in Cairo
FIFAO	- Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
GM	- Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen
HP	- High Priest of Amun
JEA	- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
JEOL	- Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genoot- schap "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden
LÄ	- Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden
LÄS	- Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Glückstadt
MÄS	- Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin
MDAIK	- Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Cairo
MIFAO	- Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Fran- çais d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
MMA	- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MMAF	- Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Paris
NAWG	- Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Göttingen
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## Foreword

### § 1.

The project of studying the Theban funerary papyri of the 11th - 10th cent. B.C. (21st and early 22nd Dynasties) is a direct consequence of the research into the coffins of the period that was accomplished in 1984 <sup>1</sup>. The owners of the coffins, who were members of the Theban priesthood of Amun, also possessed papyri in their funeral equipments.

On the basis of an analysis of the names and the titles of the owners of the papyri, and after their collation with those found on the coffins of the 21st Dynasty, finally after studying all the information furnished by publications and journals of entries into the museums, a reconstruction of the ancient funerary ensembles, and - in consequence - a possibly exact dating of the papyri within the period of the 11th - 10th centuries B.C. has been attempted in the present study. The recently published typology of the coffins of the 21st Dyn. has been here considered as a supplementary dating criterion.

One of the most important tasks of Egyptology is taking up - in the near future - of complex research into the extremely rich religious iconography of the 21st Dynasty <sup>2</sup>. This purpose can be attained on the condition that two main categories of the monuments of the period: coffins and papyri undergo detailed studies on their typology and the dating. Since the fulfilment of the first condition: a research into the coffins has recently been attempted, the present writer is hoping very much that the present study of the papyri may constitute a compliance with the second requirement.

The present study comprises all the categories of the illustrated papyri of the 11th - 10th cent. B.C. The actual list of the sources (cf. Part Two) contains altogether 427 manuscripts and their fragments, about which information could be gathered from publications, through correspondence, and prima-

<sup>1</sup> Niwiński A., 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies. = THEBEN V, Ph.v. Zabern, Mainz 1988 (cf. in the Bibliography above: Niwiński 1988), passim.

<sup>2</sup> Niwiński 1981, passim; id. (forthcoming 1), passim.

rily as a result of personal studies by the author of the original objects in many museums. The number of the manuscripts considered in the present study does not claim to be complete. There are collections containing numerous papyri that were, unfortunately, inaccessible to the author; these are, for example, the collections in Trinity College in Dublin and in the Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome. There exist undoubtedly other single papyri of the period in various smaller museums and private collections <sup>3</sup>.

The process of the gathering together the material used in the present study started in 1981, and the action was continued until 31st December 1987.

## § 2.

The collecting of the widely dispersed material was possible only through the considerable and generous support on the part of several institutions, to which I would like to express here my sincere gratitude.

My deepest thanks are due to the Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, and personally to Prof. Dr. W.A. Daszewski for having granted me a scholarship for a 3-months stay in Egypt during which I collected the basic material concerning the great collection of papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

My warm gratitude is owed to the Foundation of Alexander von Humboldt (Bonn), to the Foundation Breuninger (Stuttgart), to the Foundation Klopstock (Hamburg) and to the Foundation Schiff-Giorgini (Lausanne) for the financial support that made it possible for me to visit many museums and collections in Europe and in the USA, where I could gather most of the material for the present study. The most important part of the research was made during my stay in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Heidelberg on a research fellowship of the Foundation of Alexander von Humboldt (Bonn).

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<sup>3</sup> To such papyri, the existence of which has been stated in some older publications, but the present location of which remains unknown, belong, for example, the papyrus of Djed-ptahiufankh described by Amelia Edwards 1883, and the fragment of the papyrus of Nodjmet, having previously belonged to the collection Mook (cf. Shorter 1938, pp.14-15).

## § 3.

This work could not be prepared without the considerable assistance of many persons, to whom I want express my deepest acknowledgements.

Special words of gratitude are due to the Directorate of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for having made it possible to me to study the magnificent collection of the papyri, as well as the scientific documentation, including the Journal of Entry and the Special Register of the Museum. I would like to express here my personal thanks to the Director, Dr. Mohammed Saleh, and to the Curators: Mr. Mohammed Gomaa and Dr. Shafia bedier.

Particular expressions of gratitude are owed to the Keepers of the greatest European collections of papyri, who were very kind to allow me the studying and photographing of interesting unpublished manuscripts. These are: Mr. T.G.H. James (The British Museum), Dr. J.-L. de Cenival (The Louvre), Dr. I.Müller (The State Museum Berlin), Dr. M. Raven (The State Museum in Leiden), and Prof. A. Roccati and Prof. A.-M. Donadoni (The Egyptian Museum in Turin).

My warm thanks are due to everybody who was so kind to make available to me materials of importance to the studies of the papyri, and especially to: Prof. C.Aldred (Edinburgh), Dr. H. Algiéri (Avignon), S.J.Allen (Chicago), Dr. D.Arnold (New York), M.Barwik (Warsaw), S.Bourlard-Collin (Marseille), Dr. J.Bourriau (Cambridge), Prof. I.E.S. Edwards (Oxford), Dr. E. Goring (Edinburgh), C.Guidotti (Florence), Dr. A.Kozloff (Cleveland), Dr. E.Leospo (Turin), Dr. C.Lilyquist (New York), Dr. J.Lipińska (Warsaw), Dr. G.Lise (Milan), Dr. K.T. Luckner (Toledo), Dr. G.Matheson (Manchester), J.Miller (Chicago), Dr. I.Munro (Hannover), Dr. M.Raumschüssel (Dresden), Dr. B. Richter (Hamm), Dr. J.Ruffle (Durham), Prof. H.Satzinger (Vienna), Dr. S.Schoske (Munich), Dr. M.Valloggia (Geneva), Dr. E.Varga (Budapest), Prof. D.Wildung (Munich).

My cordial thanks are due to Prof. Dr. E.Hornung from the University of Basle and to Prof. Dr. M.Heerma van Voss from the University of Amsterdam for their great friendly assistance and many consultations during the years of my research



research into the subject.

I owe very much to Mrs. Dr. E.Schott who has rendered me accessible the important collection of photographs of some unpublished papyri she had inherited from her husband, Prof. Dr. S.Schott (Göttingen). I am very grateful to Prof. E.Winter from the University of Trier, the actual possessor of the photographs, for his kind acceptance of the proposal of publishing some of them in the present work, and for his support in this respect.

My very cordial thanks are due to Prof. Dr. Othmar Keel from the University of Fribourg, whose kind and generous support made the present publication in the series *Orbis Biblicus Orientalis* possible.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Paul Barford for his efforts in the correcting of my English.

## PART ONE

### IDEAS AND CONSIDERATIONS

chapter I. Papyri as a part of the funeral equipment in the period of the 18th - 21st Dynasties

1. The funerary papyri of the New Kingdom

A - Theological compositions of the New Kingdom and their reflection in the royal funerary equipment

§ 4.

Contrary to the private tomb equipment of the New Kingdom, a typical element of which was the Book of the Dead on papyrus, royal funerary furniture as a rule did not contained papyri. Not a single funerary papyrus was found in the only completely preserved tomb ensemble of Tutankhamun. All the remaining royal burials of the New Kingdom were plundered in antiquity, but it is sure, however, that no papyri accompanied the mummies of the kings reburied in the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari under the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II. Some hieratic magical papyri occasionally found together with mummies of the 21st Dynasty bear the title "Book that was found at the neck of the mummy of King Ramesses II in the necropolis" <sup>1</sup>, but in the face of the fact that no such papyrus was actually discovered with the genuine mummy of the sovereign, the title should be probably regarded as fictitious. Perhaps the reference to the holy name of the deified king made the magical potentiality of such a papyrus-amulet stronger.

The only papyrus-scroll found in a royal tomb /Cairo EM, J.34001 = CG 24742/ was taken from a wooden statuette representing Amenhotep II. It contains a fragmentary version of the religious composition describing the deities of the caverns of the Underworld. The composition that is encountered on several papyri of the New Kingdom, has conventionally been counted by Naville among the chapters of the Book of the Dead /BD 168/. Piankoff, who has published the group of the papyri <sup>2</sup> is probably right, when he writes: "But the nature of the text makes

<sup>1</sup> Golénischeff 1927, p.1 n.1. Some copies of the BD-chapter 166 are accompanied by similar statements; Faulkner and Andrews 1985, p.15.

<sup>2</sup> Piankoff 1974, pp.41ff, pls.10-42.

it obvious that such an attribution is erroneous, and that this so-called "chapter" is in reality an independent composition" <sup>3</sup>. The idea of this composition seems to remain in a relation to the work of theologians of the early 18th Dynasty: the Litany of the Sun, represented on the walls of several royal tombs <sup>4</sup> as well as on the funerary shroud of Tuthmosis III <sup>5</sup>.

The most important and in the 18th Dynasty almost unique theological composition reflected in the decoration of the royal tombs was "The Script from the Hidden Chamber" commonly called Amduat <sup>6</sup>. In the Ramesside period the repertoire of the decoration of the royal tombs was considerably enlarged and it included the new theological works called by us Book of the Gates <sup>7</sup>, Book of the Caverns <sup>8</sup>, Book of the Earth also called Book of Aker <sup>9</sup>, Book of the Divine Cow <sup>10</sup>, Book of the Day and the Night <sup>11</sup>, and other compositions <sup>12</sup>. The post-Amarna period introduced also some fragments of the Book of the Dead into the royal funerary repertoire <sup>13</sup>. Some individual BD-chapters were represented on several elements of the royal

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p.42.

<sup>4</sup> Published by Naville 1875, passim; Piankoff 1964a, pp.1-64; Hornung 1975-1976, passim.

<sup>5</sup> Dunham 1931, passim; Nagel 1949, passim; Hornung, op. cit., Part I passim, Part II, pp.10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Hornung 1963, passim; id. 1967, passim; id. 1972, pp.57-194; id. 1987, passim.

<sup>7</sup> Maystre and Piankoff 1939-1962, passim; Hornung 1972, pp. 195-308; id. 1980-1984, passim.

<sup>8</sup> Piankoff 1946, passim; Hornung 1972, pp.309-424.

<sup>9</sup> Piankoff 1953, passim; Hornung op. cit., pp.425-480.

<sup>10</sup> Maystre 1941, passim; Piankoff 1955, pp.27-37; Hornung 1982b passim.

<sup>11</sup> Piankoff 1942, passim; Hornung 1972, pp.486-493.

<sup>12</sup> Some scenes on the Chapels of Tutankhamun: Piankoff 1955, pp. 120-131, figs.41-42; also the compositions in the sarcophagi chambers of Tauseret and Merenptah: Hornung 1981, pp.224-225 pl.38; id. 1982a, p.65, p.109.

<sup>13</sup> Individual chapters of the Book of the Dead can be seen in the tombs of: Tutankhamun (and on his chapels), Merenptah, Siptah, Tauseret, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX. Studies on the occurrence of the BD-chapters in the royal tombs are so far lacking in the Egyptological literature.

funerary equipment, especially those directly connected with the mummy<sup>14</sup>. The fact that on the mummy-shroud of Tuthmosis III a considerable number of the BD-chapters have been represented<sup>15</sup>, proves that the Book of the Dead was never regarded as an exclusively non-royal corpus of funerary texts.

The presence of the illustrated theological compositions on the walls of the royal tombs leads one to suppose that they were copied from some pattern-works, and these might have been prepared on papyri<sup>16</sup>. However, such hypothetical works in no way can be counted among the category of the funerary papyri; they represented only artistic patterns for the tomb-painters, their purpose was therefore purely pragmatic and terrestrial, and not a magically-religious one.

B - Theological compositions of the New Kingdom reflected in the non-royal funerary equipment  
§ 5.

The royal theological compositions like Amduat were reserved exclusively for the decoration of the Kings'tombs; the repertoire of the decoration of the queens'tombs was the same as that of the private people (cf. tomb of queen Nefertari, TT 66 decorated among others with the BD 17, 94, 144, 146, 148, 180 and 186). Only two exceptional cases of private tombs are known, in the decoration of which some elements of the royal funerary repertoire were used: the Theban tombs TT 353 and TT 61.

In the tomb TT 353 of Senenmut, besides the BD-motives (chapters BD 110, 136, 137, 144-146, 148, 149-150), a unique astronomical ceiling decoration was introduced, which belonged

<sup>14</sup> To be mentioned are: BD 151 on the golden mask of Tutankhamun: Hornung 1979a, p.508; BD 72, 89 and 180 on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I in the Museum of Sir John Soane in London: Hornung 1986, pp.427-428.

<sup>15</sup> The presence of the following chapters have been confirmed on the fragments of the shroud in possession of the Museums in Cairo and Boston: BD 1, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 68, 69, 70, 75, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 105, 125, 154. The second half of the shroud, cut away by the plunderers of the Royal Cache before its official discovery, still remains unknown, probably kept in private possession.

<sup>16</sup> Piankoff 1953, p.2; Andrzejewski 1959, p.66.

to the repertoire of the royal tombs <sup>17</sup>.

In the tomb of the vizier Useramun (TT 61) of the times of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III the royal tomb decoration was adapted to such an extent that the complete Book Amduat together with its abbreviated version, and moreover, also a greater part of the Litany of the Sun covered the walls of the sarcophagus chamber <sup>18</sup>. This was the second tomb of Useramun (the first tomb bears the number TT 131), and the mummy of the vizier was most probably buried here towards the Year 30 of Tuthmosis III. Curiously enough, Useramun during the long years of the reign of Hatshepsut was obviously kept in the background of the well-known events represented, for example, in the funerary temple of the Queen <sup>19</sup>. With this in mind, one can suppose that the vizier belonged to the "party" of Tuthmosis and not to that of Hatshepsut, and it is conceivable that he played a role in the recovery of the throne by Tuthmosis III. The decoration of TT 61 executed in the style of that of Tuthmosis himself, seems to testify to the generosity of the King in reward for Useramun's merits rather, than to a case of an usurpation of the royal privilege; it can be probably compared to the later history of Amenhotep son of Hapu.

Similarly to the King Tuthmosis III, who possessed the Book Amduat and the Litany of the Sun on the walls of his tomb and the Book of the Dead (with texts of the Litany of the Sun) on his mummy-shroud, Useramun had the same royal compositions painted in his tomb, and the Book of the Dead on papyrus; the latter might have been placed directly on the mummy. The mummy was undoubtedly removed from the burial chamber by ancient plunderers, and the remains of the papyrus, discovered by Rhind in the middle of the last century, are now kept in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh <sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Hornung 1982a, p.55.

<sup>18</sup> loc. cit.; the burial chamber of the tomb of Useramun was published by Hornung 1961, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> op. cit., p.117.

<sup>20</sup> Aldred 1950, *passim*. The following BD-chapters are recognizable on the papyrus: 7, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30A-B, 38A, 43, 99, 102, 119.

C - The earliest funerary papyri  
 § 6.

Since the early New Kingdom all the upper- and middle-class people, except for the above-mentioned cases, had access to the corpus of funerary texts called by us conventionally the Book of the Dead as the only religious funerary composition. In the early 18th Dynasty the role of the bearer of the religious substance of the Book of the Dead was played by papyri and by mummy-shrouds inscribed with texts, and sometimes even illustrated. One of the oldest inscribed shrouds known to us, which was discovered in a rough rectangular coffin in a very simple rock tomb in Gurna <sup>21</sup>, contained a picture of the solar bark, and some crude inscriptions in vertical columns, being excerpts from the BD 66, 67 and 179. Two other shrouds originate from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari (besides that of Tuthmosis III), which were found on mummies lying in the white-type coffins that are characteristic for the very early 18th Dynasty, and well confirmed for the reign of Tuthmosis I <sup>22</sup>. From a black-type coffin of the time of Hatshepsut comes the shroud that belonged to Senenmut's mother Hatnefer; this contains the texts of the BD 17 and 72. On Hatnefer's mummy two additional scrolls of papyrus were also found, as well as one scroll of leather. The latter is inscribed with BD 100, and the title pry m hrw designates one of the former scrolls. Although the contents of the other one is not known, one can suppose that this was again a BD-fragment. The preliminary suggestion of the discoverers that it could have been a Book Amduat <sup>23</sup> should be explained by the fact that two papyri respectively called "Book of the Dead" and "Book Amduat" usually accompanied each of several mummies of the 21st Dynasty, which were discovered by the same expedition in previous campaigns. A similar misinterpretation by the same authors concerns another group of papyri of the period of Hatshepsut

<sup>21</sup> Daressy 1898, passim: "La chambre funéraire était un simple trou creusé dans le roc; le cercueil était rectangulaire, sans ornements ni inscriptions".; Nagel 1949, p.327 and n.2.

<sup>22</sup> Maspero 1889a, pp.539 and 544.

<sup>23</sup> Lansing and Hayes 1937, p.20; Nagel, op. cit., p.328 n.2.

discovered in the tomb of Neferkhayt: <sup>24</sup>

"In addition to his Book of the Dead two other papyri were found in the coffin of Boki. The larger /80 by 25 cm/ was not rolled or folded but was spread out flat over the breast of the bandaged mummy. Inscribed with twenty lines of cursive hieroglyphic text, it is probably a Book of Emy Dēt/.../ The smaller papyrus /24 by 22 cm/ folded twice lengthwise, lay over the thighs of the mummy. It is, unfortunately, quite illegible, and its contents will have to remain a matter of conjecture."

D - Mode of the placement of the papyri on the mummy or in the tomb

§ 7.

The last-quoted sentences draw one's attention, among others, to the mode of depositing of the funerary papyri in the funeral ensemble. In the case of another two mummies found in the same tomb of Neferkhayt <sup>25</sup>

"...the rolls were placed outside the wrappings; Ruyu's lying on her breast, Nefer-khewet's and Boki's by their left shoulders".

The discovery of the papyri belonging to Hatnefer (Senenmut's mother) has been described as follows: <sup>26</sup>

"On the breast of the mummy, outside all the wrappings proper lay a bundle, tied with a linen tape and consisting of two rolls of papyrus and a roll of leather".

The papyrus of Kha of the period of Amenhotep III was found lying loose outside the coffin <sup>27</sup>.

From the above-quoted statements one can draw conclusion that in the period of the 18th Dynasty the BD-papyri were placed unfastened beside the mummy; they were lying on the mummy itself, or close to it inside the coffin, or else on the top of the coffin. When the mummy became the object of a robbery, the loose papyrus might in such circumstances have easily been dropped, which was probably the case with User-amun's Book of the Dead. The funerary papyrus itself appears very seldom to have aroused the plunderers' interest, even if it was very richly decorated. The Ramesside papyrus of a cer-

<sup>24</sup> Hayes 1935, p.26.

<sup>25</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Lansing and Hayes, op. cit., p.20.

<sup>27</sup> Schiaparelli 1927, pp.32-63 ("Il papiro era disteso, piu



tain Ramose (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Inv. E.2a-b.1922), which originates from his tomb in Herakleopolis (Sedment) <sup>28</sup>

"...had been roughly unrolled, and left lying in a heap covered with rubbish, in the tomb doorway/.../. The work of it is the most delicate I have seen, in the drawing and colouring of the birds and animals, the face of Osiris and ornaments of the gods are gilded..."

In the post-Amarna period the custom of fastening of the papyrus to the mummy seems to have been introduced, as is the case with the Book of the Dead of Kenna (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, T.2). This long papyrus placed on the mummy in 12 folds and covering the body "from the head to the feet" <sup>29</sup> was stuck to the outer surface of the mummy-bandages by means of bitumen. In the same period special receptacles for the funerary papyri first appeared. The BD-papyri of Nakht (London BM 10471 and 10473) were enclosed in a wooden box <sup>30</sup>. Some later forms of the BD-containers were hollowed statuettes of Osiris, or "papyrus-sheaths". The Book of the Dead of Hunefer (London BM 9901), which is commonly dated in the reign of Seti I <sup>31</sup> was found in such a statuette. This custom of placing the funerary papyri in a hollowed figures of Osiris, or in their bases, survived until the 22nd Dynasty.


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volte ripiegato, sopra il secondo sarcofago di Cha.").

<sup>28</sup> Petrie and Brunton 1924, p.27.

<sup>29</sup> Athanasi 1836, p. 78.

<sup>30</sup> Raven 1979, p. 262.

<sup>31</sup> op. cit., p.257. The dating is supported by the title . However, another title

from the papyrus:  seems to make

justifiable the suggestion that Hunefer was engaged in the post-mortem cult of Seti I. Perhaps he performed the function of the scribe of the tomb-offerings chronologically later than that of the major-domo. It appears that the papyrus of Hunefer should be dated in the reign of Ramesses II rather than that of Seti I.

E - The development of research into the Theban redaction of the Book of the Dead

§ 8.

The studies on the Book of the Dead were started over 150 years ago with the research into the manuscripts of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods<sup>32</sup>. According to an old view, the Book of the Dead was for the ancient Egyptians something similar to the Bible. In consequence, a supposed unalterability of the arrangement and the contents of particular chapters over the centuries was first assumed. A manuscript, possibly the most complete and well preserved one was looked for, and the choice fell on the almost 20 m. long papyrus of a certain Iufankh in the Royal Museum in Turin. The papyrus originates from the Ptolemaic period, but it had earlier been dated to the Saite times. The subsequent texts written on the papyrus (and some bigger illustrations, too), clearly separated by means of a double vertical line, were numbered and conventionally named "chapters". An impression of an identity or strong similarity of particular manuscripts of the "Saite redaction"<sup>33</sup> confirmed scholars in a conviction that this partition was good.

Although Lepsius's division of the Book of the Dead into "chapters" is not quite comfortable for the studies on the "Theban redaction"-papyri, one can confirm, after Naville, its practical sense<sup>34</sup>. It seems, moreover, that this conventional numeration has sustained the test of time, and it is rooted deep enough in the system of the Egyptological symbols to be kept also in the future. Lepsius himself was also very much engaged in supporting research into the funerary papyri of the Theban redaction. This important task was to a great extent fulfilled by Naville, whose three-volume work still remains

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<sup>32</sup> The studies cumulated in the basic work of Lepsius 1842, *passim*, followed by De Rouge 1861, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Naville 1886, pp.8-9.


<sup>34</sup> *op. cit.*, p.13: "Was gibt es auch Practischeres als die von Lepsius adoptierte einfache Zählung? Diese Eintheilung sieht von dem Inhalte der Kapitel ab, sie systematisiert nichts; aber sie gewährt eine große Leichtigkeit für die Benutzung des Buches und beruht auf dem richtigen Principe. Alles, was in dem Turiner Papyrus einen Titel hat, jedes

fundamental to any further study <sup>35</sup>. Important materials concerning the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom were furnished in the last decades of the XIXth century through some facsimile publications of splendid papyri of Nebked, Kenna, Ani and Hunefer, and the texts from the papyrus of Nu <sup>36</sup>. In the XXth century a number of publications of particular manuscripts of the Theban BD-redaction as well as some general studies and translations of the Book of the Dead appeared <sup>37</sup>. A systematic synoptic edition of all the textual versions of particular chapters has only recently been initiated by Hornung at the Basle University <sup>38</sup>.

F - The problem of dating the papyri  
§ 9.

One of the most important research problems concerning the papyri of the Theban redaction is the great need for precise criteria of dating of particular manuscripts within the period of the New Kingdom. Only a few papyri can be dated on the grounds of some connections of their owners with named kings <sup>39</sup> or with well dated tombs <sup>40</sup>. In consequence, the following



oder  genannte Stück, ist ein nummeriertes Kapitel, ganz gleich wie lang es ist".

<sup>35</sup> Naville, op. cit., passim.

<sup>36</sup> Devéria and Pierret 1872; Leemans 1882; Budge 1890; id. 1899.

<sup>37</sup> The publications of the papyri: Daressy 1902a, pp.38-57, pls.XIII-XV; Naville 1908; Speleers 1917; Andrzejewski 1951; Ratié 1968; Thausing and Kerszt-Kratschmann 1969; Munro 1973; Luft 1977a. Among the general studies and translations the following are the most important: Shorter 1938; Allen 1960; id. 1974; Baret 1967 (with an ample bibliography); Hornung 1979a; Faulkner and Andrews 1985.

<sup>38</sup> Lüscher 1986, passim (BD 1); in preparation are BD 77, 85 and 86.

<sup>39</sup> For example, Juja - the possessor of the papyrus Cairo 51189 - was the father-in-law of Amenhotep III; as to the links of Hunefer - the owner of the pap. BM 9901 - with Seti I, cf. the note 31 above.

<sup>40</sup> The papyrus of Juja originates from the Theban tomb TT 46 in the Valley of the Kings; the papyrus of Maiherperi comes from the TT 36 in the same Valley; the papyrus of Kha was found in the TT 8 in Deir el-Medina; the papyrus of Useramun was connected with the TT 61. About the relations between the papyri and decorated tombs, cf. §§ 16-18 below.

closing remark in an article by Luft <sup>41</sup> is valid in the full sense of the word:

"/Dar/aus geht hervor, daß die Masse der Totenbücher auf Grund kunst- und textgeschichtlicher Kriterien datiert werden muß. Um so wichtiger scheint es, eindeutige Kriterien für eine zeitliche Ansetzung zu finden".

The textual and stylistical criteria, however, have a subjective value for various scholars. Therefore the same papyrus has often been dated in different sub-periods of the New Kingdom. An example of such an extreme divergence in the opinions of two Egyptologists was given in 1928 on the occasion of the dating of the BD-papyrus of Inpehefnakht (now in Geneva, Pap. Bodmer C), when the 18th and the 21st Dynasties were proposed at the same time <sup>42</sup>. Vicissitudes characterized efforts to date other papyri, as well: those of Kenna (Leiden), Neferronpet (Brussels), Nakht (London), Pakerer (Leiden), Neferubenef (Paris) <sup>43</sup>. The register of the methods used for dating BD-manuscripts has been outlined by Heerma van Voss <sup>44</sup>. One of the methods concerns an analysis of the titles, names and the genealogical interrelations between the owners of the papyri, and other persons known to us. Although one could be justified in expecting the most precise information after such an analysis, many efforts have so far brought few results, except for a choice of some possible genealogical connections at best <sup>45</sup>. Moreover, coincidence of titles and names occurring on two different objects does not necessarily mean an identity of the two owners; the names often repeat in the same family every one or two generations <sup>46</sup>, and the titles were usually hereditary.

Another two criteria of dating of the papyri: palaeography and analysis of the language (for example, occurrence of the word "Qsiris") can in some circumstances also be deceptive, namely in case of an intentional archaization <sup>47</sup>. An analysis

<sup>41</sup> Luft 1977a, p.75.

<sup>42</sup> Bissing 1928, pp.38-39; Spiegelberg 1928, *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> Luft, *op. cit.*, p.52; Ratié 1968, pp.10-12.

<sup>44</sup> Heerma van Voss 1977, *passim*; recently Munro 1988, pp.4-12.

<sup>45</sup> For example, cf. Andrews 1978, *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> Luft 1977b, p.81; Niwiński 1984a, pp.137ff.

of the style of the vignettes seems to be more certain. Some iconographic details, for example those of the garment of the deceased in the scenes of adoration, make it possible to differentiate the manuscripts of the early 18th Dynasty from the Ramesside ones. They are, however, much less useful for dating within the Ramesside period. In the case of the papyri of Nakht and Kenna this was the stylistic criterion, which pointed to the period of post-Amarna (early 19th Dynasty) as the time of their manufacture. Fortunately, there is another additional source of information concerning the last-mentioned manuscript, which has not so far been recognized. Owing to the relatively good description of the circumstances of the discovery of this BD-papyrus<sup>48</sup> one can learn that it originated from the same tomb as the coffin with the mummy of a certain Katebet (now in London, BM 6665). The analysis of the style of the coffin leads to the conclusion that it has some characteristic features of the intermediate style between the post-Amarna period and the early Ramessides, and it can be probably dated in the reign of Haremhab or of Ramesses I<sup>49</sup>.

One can, however, be also led astray when concluding from the character and the style of vignettes only. For instance, Heerma van Voss has dated the papyrus of Kenna to the 19th Dynasty, based on the conjecture that "...la présence de vignettes ("LDM 16") accompagnant les hymnes au soleil (15) excluent la Dix-huitième Dynastie"<sup>50</sup>. This criterion seems, however, to be no longer sure. There is a papyrus in London (BM 9988), which on the ground of iconographic features of the figures of the deceased and his wife can be probably dated to the early 18th Dynasty, but it contains the solar vignette "of the Ramesside type" as well<sup>51</sup> (Fig.1).

<sup>47</sup> Spiegelberg, op. cit., p.153.

<sup>48</sup> Athanasi 1836, pp.77-78.

<sup>49</sup> Miwiński 1983b, p.438 n.25; id. 1988, § 12. and n.35.

<sup>50</sup> Heerma van Voss 1986, p.12.

<sup>51</sup> Munro 1988, p.167 points to the same papyrus and the same problem: "...so zeigt der etwa gleichzeitig (i. e. between Hatshepsut and Amenhotep II - A.N.) anzusetzende p. BM 9988 einen ausführlicheren Morgen-Hymnus".

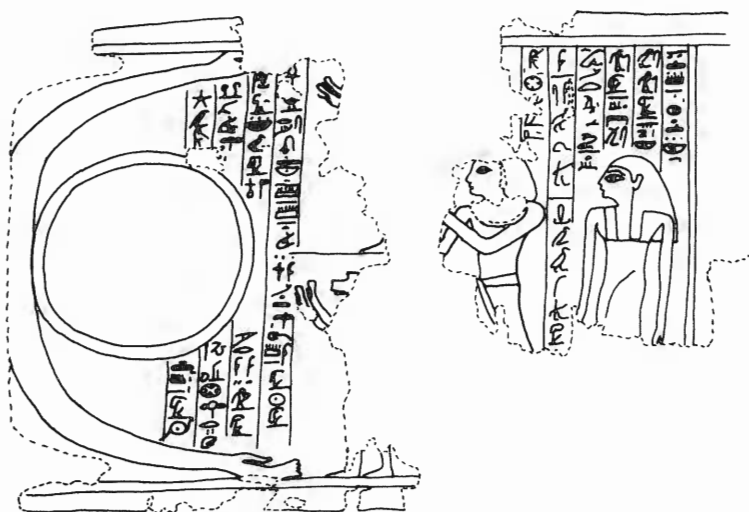


Fig.1

It seems that a detailed analysis of the ensemble of the formal elements of the papyrus, like the height of the scroll, the kind of the bordering pattern, the arrangement of the dividing lines on the papyrus surface, the number and density of the illustrating vignettes, the colours used, etc. can be of great importance for the dating of the BD-manuscripts. These criteria, as well as the analysis of the style of the coffin, together with which a papyrus was discovered, have so far been almost completely neglected. New studies being presently performed on the Book of the Dead of the 18th Dynasty<sup>52</sup> promise a considerable change in this respect, and therefore the beginning of a new period of research into the papyri of the New Kingdom.

<sup>52</sup> These are the works of Munro 1988, passim, and the studies of M. Barwik (Warsaw) on the papyri of the early 18th Dynasty, and especially on the papyrus of Senhotep in Cairo (in preparation). Another work to be published soon is that by H. Milde (Amsterdam) about the connection of the papyrus of Mefferonpet in Philadelphia with that of Neferonpet in Brussels (I owe this information to Professor Heerma van Voss).

G - The problem of retrograde writing and the direction of reading of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom

§ 10.

Except for three papyri of the very early 19th Dynasty (pap. of Kenna, Nakht and Neferronpet) all other exemplars to my knowledge of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom (both of the 18th Dynasty and of the Ramesside period) are begun at the left side, and they end at the right end of the scroll. The direction of reading of the subsequent chapters can be very easily recognized from the attitude of the figure of the deceased on the big scenes. The deceased most often represented in adoration, faces as a rule the next scene or text. Most of the funerary papyri begin with such a big adoration scene before a god sitting in a chapel. We will designate the initial scene, where a legend with the titles and names of the deceased and his spouse is usually encountered, with the term "etiquette". The texts of the BD 1 and the typical scenes of the burial ceremonies, often having a narrative character, directly follow the etiquette. Contrary to the papyri of the 21st Dynasty, the etiquette and the BD 1 on the manuscripts of the New Kingdom occur on the left end of the papyrus scroll. The texts arranged in vertical columns should be read from the left, although the hieroglyphic signs face right. In consequence the direction of reading of the hieroglyphs is opposite to that of the whole text, which makes the text "retrograde".

One of the purposes of the research into the Book of the Dead has long since been an explanation of the cause and sense of the retrograde writing. The phenomenon has often been interpreted as the outcome of a scribe's mistake committed during the work of copying from a pattern text, which was arranged in vertical columns<sup>53</sup>. According to Naville, this pattern might have been represented in a tomb<sup>54</sup>. De Rougé was of the opinion that the earliest funerary papyri had been written in the hieratic, and the hieroglyphic texts were the subsequent copies from hieratic, which caused the retrograde writing<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Naville 1886, p.41.

<sup>54</sup> op. cit., pp.45-46.

<sup>55</sup> referred to by Naville, op. cit., p.3.

Another similar idea, together with a very interesting remark suggesting the importance of the position of the mummy in the coffin in the Middle Kingdom, has been presented by Sethe<sup>56</sup>. To a quite different possibility pointed the old hypothesis of Lepsius. According to him, the direction of the reading the texts on the papyri from left to right originated from the religious idea that the human life was a way towards the West (the same word: ꜥmnt means "the West" and at the same time "the right side")<sup>57</sup>. The religious grounds of the retrograde writing of the texts in the Books of the Underworld as a consequence of the idea of "the reversed world of the dead" and the reversibility of time in the Hereafter has also been hinted at by Hornung<sup>58</sup>.

It seems that only a combination of all the above-mentioned theories can be helpful in attempting a solution of the problem. Naville is undoubtedly right in underlining the importance of the traditional form of writing of the funerary texts in tombs. In fact, the Pyramid Texts were written in hieroglyphs arranged in vertical columns on the walls of the sepulchral chambers and corridors inside the pyramids of the 5th and 6th Dynasties, and a similar arrangement of the texts occurred on the walls of some rock tombs of the Middle Kingdom too (for example, the tomb of Horhotep, now in the Cairo Museum, or the tomb of Neferu in Deir el-Bahari). The hieroglyphs in the texts in pyramids were directed towards the sarcophagus of the King, and the beginning of the texts was cut in its direct neighbourhood. Since the texts on the opposite walls ran parallelly, the text on one of them read from right, and that on the other one read from left<sup>59</sup>. As a rule the texts in the

<sup>56</sup> Sethe 1931, p.530: "Hier im Innern der Särge sind die Texte dem Toten gleichsam auf den Leib gerückt. Dabei wird nicht selten wie in den Pyramiden in der Anordnung der Texte auf ihn Rücksicht genommen, indem man gewisse Flächen des Sarges, die für den auf der linken Seite liegenden Toten bequemer von links nach rechts zu lesen waren, in rückläufigen Kolumnen beschriftet. Da die hieratische Schrift selbst nicht wie die Hieroglyphen umgedreht werden konnte, war dies die einzig mögliche Form für die Umkehrung der Zeilenfolge".

<sup>57</sup> Referred to by Naville, op. cit., p.45; as to the meaning of the word ꜥmnt, cf. WB I.86.

<sup>58</sup> Hornung 1972, p.31.



pyramids were, therefore, non-retrograde. The only exceptional case of the retrograde writing, which occurs on one wall in the pyramid of Wenis is not easily explained<sup>60</sup>. However, in view of the fact that the case is not repeated in other pyramids, it should perhaps be interpreted as a result of an ancient error rather than due to theological considerations.

# § 11.

Two alternative possibilities of the solution of the problem of the retrograde writing on papyri of the Theban BD-redaction should be considered.

- 1/. The retrograde writing was intentional and was related to the idea of the reversibility of time in the Underworld, or tomb. In such a case the form of the retrograde writing on papyri would have been directly connected with that of the Books of the Underworld in the royal tombs, and the formal pattern for both the Book of the Dead and the Books of the Underworld would have been created in the same theological "school". At the same time, one should suppose that the traditional form of the old religious texts from pyramids and tombs would have been abandoned at the dawn of the New Kingdom, except for the fragments of the Coffin Texts referred to by Sethe (cf. note 56 above).
- 2/. (preferred explanation) The retrograde writing was an non-intentional result of a mistake, or of some technical problems faced by the scribes. All the texts on papyri (literary, administrative ones, etc) before the creation of the pattern of the Book of the Dead were written in hieratic and usually in horizontal lines, and were read from right to left. The scribes were of course accustomed with the unchangeable nature of the hieratic signs that always faced the right. The scribe(s) charged with the task to prepare the pattern scheme of the Book of the Dead was found himself in a rather difficult position. First, the texts, according to the old tradition of the funerary

<sup>59</sup> Barta 1981, pp.69-70.

<sup>60</sup> Barta's explanation, op. cit., p.70: "...daß die Texte durch die Anwendung der rückläufigen Schrift nur einem Eingeweihten verständlich waren" does not seem very convincing.

literature, were to be written in hieroglyphs arranged in vertical columns. Secondly, the composition was to be begun on the left. It was undoubtedly the drawer and not the scribe who made the first part of the work. He drew the border lines and the vertical dividing lines that would separate the columns of the future texts, and finally he arranged the place for vignettes having indicated that on the left side the etiquette and the burial scene of the BD 1 should be painted. Now, the scribe had no choice and he was obliged to start with the texts from the left, too. He arranged probably the particular words in the subsequent vertical columns, having used the hieratic signs, familiar to him. Then the particular signs should have been transcribed into hieroglyphs, and it seems conceivable that at this point the scribe committed an error, not having changed the direction of the signs, which resulted in the retrograde effect of the text. The formal pattern scheme, once created, was then copied without any hesitation, and the retrograde writing could have been regarded as something sanctified with the holy tradition.

On the other hand, the Egyptians appear to have been conscious of the imperfection of the scheme, or this became apparent to them later. In the post-Amarna period a correction of the pattern was attempted, and the papyri of Nakht, of Neferonpet, and of Kenna read from the right, two former being at the same time non-retrograde. In the Ramesside period both forms of the writing occurred; the papyri of Hunefer and Ani are, for example, retrograde, while that of Pashedu (London BM 9955) is not.

In the 21st Dynasty papyri began as a rule on the right, but even then some workshops evidently respected the old tradition. Perhaps the phenomenon observed from the Ramesside times, of replacing the texts by vignettes, as well as the introduction of hieratic into the funerary papyri in the late 21st Dynasty reflected a tendency to avoid retrograde writing. Finally, it should be stressed that the hieroglyphic manuscripts of the Saite redaction of the Book of the Dead use the normal (i.e. non-retrograde) writing. In conclusion, it seems that the conjecture, according to which the interesting pheno-

menon of retrograde writing resulted from some causes of technical rather than religious nature, is justifiable.

H - The rule: pars pro toto as the decisive factor in the interpretation of the contents of a papyrus

§ 12.

Particular exemplars of the BD-manuscripts of the New Kingdom differ considerably in length and, in consequence, in their contents, i.e. in the number of the BD-chapters. The differences can be followed on the TABLE Ib, where a set of 11 BD-papyri is preliminarily confronted according to the sequence (and number) of the chapters used on them. For example, the papyrus of Hunefer is 5,49 m long, and it contains only 6 BD-chapters. The similarly dated papyrus of Ani, 23,77 m long, consists of 61 chapters. The Book of the Dead of Nebseni of the middle 18th Dynasty is almost identical in length (23,66 m) but it contains 87 chapters. Another middle 18th Dynasty papyrus of Nu is shorter by almost 4 m (19,90 m), but it counts as many as 122 chapters. These differences result from the following three factors, which can be combined in various ways:

1. dimensions of the papyrus scroll;
2. number of vignettes;
3. degree of completion of the written text.

Papyrus was rather expensive, and the value of a ready exemplar of the Book of the Dead (we do not know, unfortunately, of which dimensions), was 1 deben of silver, according to some materials from Deir el-Medina<sup>61</sup>. This value was equal to that of 2 cows, or that of about 3 hectares of ground<sup>62</sup>. The etiquettes and some vignettes, too, usually represent the deceased together with his spouse, and it is conceivable that such a funerary papyrus formed, in fact, part of the tomb equipment of both husband and wife. To support this, one can recall that in the tomb of the parents-in-law of Amenhotep III only one papyrus was found, which is commonly called "the papyrus of Juja", though it served presumably his wife Thuju, represented beside him in the etiquette, too. It is conceivable that the rare papyri, the vignettes of which represent the deceased alone (for example those of Maiherperi in Cairo, Nu in

<sup>61</sup> Janssen 1975, pp. 245-246.

London, or Bakai in Warsaw) testify to the celibacy of their owners.

Most of the BD-papyri were prepared anonymous in the Theban workshops of the funerary equipment, and offered for the clients' choice. After the papyrus was purchased, the texts and the legends in the vignettes were supplemented with the names and titles of the owner and his wife, and usually only then was the etiquette made, and was stuck on the border of the scroll. In a case when the name of the deceased appears to have been written at the same time as the whole text, we are probably dealing with a manuscript made to order by professional artists, or perhaps by the owner himself. In the last-mentioned case it was sufficient to buy a scroll of papyrus-material, which was much cheaper. From two ostraca from Deir el-Medina it has been calculated that the price of a scroll of 3,20 to 4 m long was 2 deben of copper<sup>63</sup>. Supposedly the longest and at the same time the most correct papyri (like those of Nebseni and Nu of the middle 18th Dynasty, or those of Ani and Nakht of the 19th Dynasty were written by their possessors themselves.

The made-to-order papyri were probably the most expensive, and they were seldom composed of more than 3 scrolls. For example, the manuscripts of Bakai, Warsaw (9,67 m long) or that of Amenhotep, London BM 10489 (10,67 m) consist of 3 scrolls stuck together, while few exceptionally long papyri like those of Kha, Turin (ca 16 m), or of Kenna, Leiden (17,10 m) must have been executed of 5 scrolls. Presumably a number of patterns of the Book of the Dead were presented for the client's choice, and it is not excluded that the quantity and style of the vignettes, as well as the specifications for using BD-chapters might have sometimes been decided by the client himself. Some chapters are encountered in the BD-manuscripts much more often than others (cf. the TABLE Ia), which seems to reflect either preferences of the customers, or the range offered by the workshops' offer.

It has been observed that in the BD-papyri of the post-

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<sup>62</sup> Hornung 1979a, p.24.

<sup>63</sup> Janssen, op. cit., pp.447-448.

Amarna and the Ramesside times, vignettes increase in number at the cost of text, and at the same time the excellent quality of the scenes is often in sharp contrast with that of the erroneous text <sup>64</sup>. Obviously, a figural mode of expression of the religious ideas was preferred, which may have, among others, been a reflection of the structure of employment and ability of the personnel of the Theban workshops of those days. It may also be observed that the quality of the etiquette and several of the first chapters, i.e. the beginning of a manuscript, is superior to that of the rest of the papyrus. The border ornament, at the beginning carefully coloured, inside of the scroll often runs already without any colour, and it is limited to simple parallel lines. It seems, therefore, that only the initial portion of the ready Book of the Dead-papyrus might usually have been unrolled in front of the customer, and that the whole scroll was not expected to be carefully examined <sup>65</sup>.

### § 13.

However, from the observed cases of numerous errors in the text, seemingly having been copied by the scribe with ignorance, one should not draw a conclusion as to change or diminution of the religious importance of the Book of the Dead in the Ramesside period. On the contrary, the iconographic repertoire of the Ramesside tombs testifies to the increasing influence of spells and formulas. There is one question, how can one explain the inconsistency between the impression of the developing importance of the substance of the Book of the Dead, and the declining form of the textual record observed on the papyri? In the present writer's opinion, a decisive explanatory factor is the use by the ancient Egyptians of the principle of representation, which shall be named in this work with the Latin term pars pro toto.

<sup>64</sup> Naville 1886, p.39; Černý 1952 (1977), p.27; Barguet 1967, pp.10-11.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. also Barguet, op. cit., p.11 n.10: "...Ce peut être une véritable négligence, le scribe pensant que personne après lui ne verrait son texte, enseveli avec le mort..."

Undoubtedly, every member of the middle or the upper class of Egyptian society in the New Kingdom felt a strong need to be furnished with a possibly complete exemplar of the Book of the Dead, because of the appreciated importance of this religious composition for the whole post-mortem existence of a human being. However, the great number of spells and formulas that could be covered with the common term pry m hrw<sup>66</sup>, made it practically impossible that a place for all of them in their full and illustrated version could have been found on one papyrus. Therefore, only a selection of the BD-chapters is always encountered, even in the longest manuscripts. In the shorter ones there was hardly place enough even for those chapters which had been recognized as the most important, all the more because some of them (BD 1, 17, 64, 78, 99, 125, 144-149) were quite long. The only solution was to use shortened versions of the text. The most important texts were recorded in a fragmentary form as a number of representative elements, chosen and put together in the papyrus as a kind of summary. Therefore, some papyri consist of only short fragments of several BD-chapters, while other contain some seemingly "whole" chapters, however with big lacunae in the text.

Another kind of shortening occurs in the vignettes, especially the long ones, like that of the BD 17 (usually only few figures are painted, representing the whole series). Within one vignette, illustrations to two or three BD-chapters can also be found. Such are, for example the vignettes to the BD 83 and 84, or those to the BD 151 and 166, which are joined on the papyrus of Neferironpet (Brussels), and the illustrations to the BD 87 and 88 as well as those of the BD 151, 155 and 156, which are combined within single vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferubenef (Louvre). The observation that a picture requires, as a rule, less place than the text of a spell, resulted in a trend towards recording the vignette alone as a representative of the whole BD-chapter, or even

<sup>66</sup> The chapter BD 193 is the last one so far published; cf. Heerma van Voss 1974b, passim. However, there exist in various BD-manuscripts a number of texts qualified as "new" or "non edited". A comprehensive study of all these "supplementary chapters" would be much welcome in the Egyptological literature.

more than one chapter. For example, a figure of a falcon was an illustration both of BD 77 and BD 78. When such a figure accompanied with the text of only one chapter of these two is found on a papyrus, which often occurs on the manuscripts of the New Kingdom, it seems likely that through this combination in fact both chapters in question were considered having been represented.

The rule pars pro toto enabled the application of various abbreviations, textual amalgamations and textual-figural combinations, which might have caused numerous errors in copying from the old text patterns. Thus, the original text was often no longer understandable. In spite of the usual interpretation of such papyri as resulting from "the ignorance of language and religious facts"<sup>67</sup>, it seems that even in such a form, as far as the ancient Egyptians were concerned, these BD-versions had as much value as an example seeming "more complete" to our eyes. From the religious viewpoint, the spells and formulas retained their meaning and magical function even if they were written retrograde with some orthographic errors, omissions, or represented by a fragment of text or by a vignette only. Similarly, the figure of one loaf of bread and one jug carved on an offering table were always given the sense of "1000 loaves and 1000 jugs of beer" from the offering formula. In the aspective attitude of an ancient Egyptian towards reality, only a sum of elements which formed the whole, and not their state of being complete, or ways in which they were combined one with another was reckoned with<sup>68</sup>. The Book of the Dead is the best example of such a whole composed of the independent elements (= chapters), which can be set together in any amount and in any order. Each manuscript of the Theban redaction of the Book of the Dead is a unique variety of fragments of this

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<sup>67</sup> Barguet, op. cit., p.11 n.10.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. a similar consideration concerning the art by Schäfer 1974, p.119: "Egyptian drawings often enough do not satisfy our desire for conceptual comprehensiveness /.../ But in general a fair proportion of what is necessary to identify the commonest creatures and objects is recognized and incorporated into the picture." These sentences can be applied to each exemplar of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom and the 21st Dynasty.

corpus, which are combined at somebody's individual discretion, and fashioned after a chosen form of the artistic pattern, according to the rule pars pro toto <sup>69</sup>.

I - The contents of the BD-papyri of the New Kingdom and the problem of the arrangement of the chapters

§ 14.

To conclude from the above statement, the choice of the chapters and their sequence on the papyrus was of secondary importance. This is comfortable to Naville's opinion: <sup>70</sup>

"Es ist eine bloß künstliche Aneinanderreihung, deren Prinzip wir nicht erkennen, die aber weder doctrinär noch auch chronologisch ist."

However, another statement of the same scholar, according to which <sup>71</sup>

"...es ist weder eine Einheit noch ein Ganzes, es ist eine Sammlung /.../ einzelner Stücke, unter denen der Verstorbene oder man für ihn ein wenig ad libitum auswählte"

appears too extreme in denying any rule of selection of the BD-chapters. The clear preference for some chapters, as well as the custom of recording some of them in the same sequence, as observed on various manuscripts, seem to be evidence for a conscious choice of the spells. This might have been the choice of an artist, who made vignettes, and whose selection was usually binding for a scribe, who should later write the texts. This is also possible that it was sometimes the client who decided on the selection of the chapters. Finally, it might have been the choice of a priest who was quite aware of the contents of the preferred fragments of the Book of the Dead.

In the Egyptological literature for a long time propositions have occurred attempting at the classification of the Book of the Dead. The starting point of these considerations

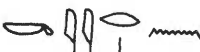
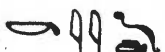
<sup>69</sup> The same principle was regarded by the artists, who decorated the tombs, both private and royal. For example, the only fragment of the Book Amduat in the wall decoration of Tutankhamun's tomb might have represented the whole composition, and it possessed, from the religious viewpoint, an equal magical power.

<sup>70</sup> Naville, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

<sup>71</sup> op. cit., p. 18.



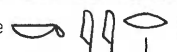
was, however, the repeating arrangement of the BD-chapters in the papyri of the Saite redaction <sup>72</sup>. These classifications present little value, however, for the studies on the Theban redaction of the Book of the Dead <sup>73</sup>.

It appears that the shape of the original pattern(s), from which the BD-papyri of the New Kingdom were copied, should be given our consideration. For the Saite version of the Book of the Dead the existence of one long papyrus as the prototype seems most likely, after which numerous Late Period BD-copies were made with the "canonical" arrangement of the chapters. On the contrary, without any doubt, no analogous general prototype of the BD-papyri of the Theban redaction was created in the early New Kingdom. On the other hand, there always existed "thematic groups" of the BD-chapters, which were often recorded on the papyri in the same, or similar sequence. It seems, therefore, very likely that each of these thematic groups of spells might have originally been recorded on a separate prototype papyrus, and in consequence, not one but many rather small model-papyri formed the prototype of the Book of the Dead of the Theban redaction. The conjecture appears to be supported by the existence of a number of the BD-chapters entitled  ("another spell for..."), or .

("another reading"). Every Theban workshop of the funerary equipment possessed probably a whole collection of such model-papyri, on which individual spells or their groups were recorded. It is conceivable that the longer chapters, like BD 1 or BD 17 (the latter probably combined with BD 18) were written

<sup>72</sup> Champollion divided the Book of the Dead into 3 parts: 1. chapters BD 1-15; 2. BD 16-125; 3. the remaining chapters (cf. Naville, op. cit., p.12); Moret proposed in 1908 a division into 4 parts: 1. chapters BD 1-16 ("prière"); 2. BD 17-63 ("régénération"); 3. BD 64-129 ("transfiguration") and 4. BD 130-162 ("glorification du mort"). This division has been adapted by Barguet 1967, pp.17-18.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Hornung 1979a, p.23: "Untersuchungen über die Abfolge oder Gruppierung von Sprüchen fehlen noch." Some valuable observations are made by Barguet, op. cit., pp.11-12. He has pointed to the grouping of the chapters of similar contents, like BD 26-30 ("les formules du cœur"), BD 31-40 ("les incantations contre les reptiles et les savriens"), BD 77-88 ("des transformations"), BD 107-116 ("connaître les âmes des lieux saints").

alone, while the shorter spells grouped according to the subject appeared together on the separate model-papyri. Sometimes it was decided that entire contents of such a model-papyrus, on which for instance, the group of BD-chapters concerning the heart occurred, would have been copied. Such is the case of the BD-manuscripts, where the whole series of these spells appear together, directly one after another, like in the papyri of Nu and Tjanena with the BD-chapters 26, 28, 27 and 30 (cf. TABLE Ib). Usually only one chapter of the group recorded on the same model-papyrus was copied, which represented the whole series, according to the pars pro toto - rule. Examples of such papyri are the BD-manuscripts of Juja and of Maiherperi (both papyri in Cairo), where the only representative of the "heart-chapters" is the BD 30B. In the situation, when two spells were regarded by the Egyptians themselves as analogous, one of them was sometimes given the title ; such pairs of the chapters are the BD 2 and 3, BD 12 and 13, or BD 54 and 55. It is characteristic that usually only one chapter of the pair was copied on the funerary papyrus.

#### § 15.

It seems that the conception of the prototype of the Theban redaction of the Book of the Dead, as formed by a number of model-papyri, each containing a thematically arranged series of spells, can well explain both the absence and the repeated occurrence of some chapters in BD-manuscripts. The chapters that are met very rarely, might have been recorded on model-papyri which were uncommonly used by the scribes in the Theban workshops. In a case of a repeating of a spell in the papyrus, we are dealing probably with a mistake of a scribe, who might have taken, through oversight, for the second time a model-papyrus, from which he had previously copied the same text. Another explanation would be offered by the conjecture that some texts might exceptionally occurred on several various model-papyri.

It is not the purpose of this work to analyze the manuscripts of the New Kingdom in order to reconstruct the supposed prototype papyri. However, much information for such future research seems to be furnished by consideration of simila-

rities of the religious substance between the particular BD-chapters, and a comparison of the tenor of the differently numbered spells. For example, the "transformations' chapters" (i. e. BD 76-88) usually appear on the papyri in the close vicinity to each other, which result from the similarity of their contents (the deceased being identified in succession with all the most important forms of the Great God - the creator, known from various cosmogonies). Another group of spells, which usually appear together in the papyri: BD 21-30 is also joined by the common general religious idea (the deceased is given a magical power over the main elements of his personality: the name and the heart). Again, the religious substance of two groups of the chapters: BD 98-102 and BD 130-136 is similar (the motives of the solar bark, of the journey together with the sun, and of the adoration of Re), and it reflects the idea of the solarization of the deceased<sup>74</sup>. These "solar chapters" might have been theoretically represented on one common prototype-papyrus, from which they were copied onto the BD-manuscripts. In fact, on several funerary papyri of the New Kingdom the texts of the two "solar" groups appear in a direct vicinity. These are the chapters BD 132 and 102 on the Brocklehurst papyrus, the BD 102 and 136 on that of Amenhotep, the BD 100, 102 and 136 on the papyrus of Juja, the BD 99 and 136 on the papyrus of Maiherperi, the BD 102 and 136 on the papyrus of Kenna, the BD 136 and 102 on the papyrus Reinisch, the BD 100, 102 and 136 on the manuscript of Neferronpet. On TABLES Ia and b some data concerning several manuscripts of the New Kingdom are gathered, which may hopefully assist a future attempt to find further information on the arrangement of the BD-chapters.

TABLE II contains some small-scale schemes of the decoration of several manuscripts of the Theban redaction of the Book

<sup>74</sup> To the same group of the "solar chapters" belongs the well-known BD 15 comprising the hymns to the Sun. Assmann 1983, p. XXXV expressed his criticism towards the term "the chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead": "Im N.R. ist ein Totenbuch-Schreiber in der Entscheidung, ob und mit welchem Hymnus er seine HS. eröffnen will...". It is conceivable that a choice of the texts of this kind was recorded on some model-papyri, like other "chapters". Therefore, the conventional term "BD 15" will be retained in the present work.

of the Dead, showing, among others, a varying relation between the space taken on the papyri by vignettes and that covered by texts. To illustrate this tendency, the proportions for several completely preserved papyri of the New Kingdom have been calculated in percentage, which are given below.

Name of the owner of the papyrus	The whole surface of the papyrus (in sq.m)	The area taken by the whole decoration (in sq.m)	The space covered with the vignettes (in sq.m)	The percentage of the decorated surface taken by vignettes	The percentage of the decorated surface covered by texts
Nu (Amenhotep III)	6,77	5,57	0,70	12,6%	87,4%
Nebsemi (Amenhotep III)	8,12	7,80	2,84	36,4%	63,6%
Nakht (early 19th Dyn.)	5,50	4,70	2,04	43,4%	56,6%
Hunefer (Ramesses II)	2,14	1,70	0,84	49,4%	50,6%

The above table reflects the general increasing tendency towards the replacing of the text with a figural means of expression. Although some exemplars of the BD-papyri containing many texts are encountered even as late as the 21st Dynasty, in the duration of the New Kingdom vignettes played an increasingly important role. The illustrations to the Book of the Dead also became an essential part of the iconographic repertoire in the Theban Ramesside tombs <sup>75</sup>.

#### J - Funerary papyri and the decoration of the tombs in Thebes in the New Kingdom

##### § 16.

Notwithstanding all the differences occurring in the sepulchral architecture, each private Theban tomb of the 18th -

<sup>75</sup> The basic study of the presence of the BD-motives in the Theban tombs is that of Saleh 1984, passim.

20th Dynasty <sup>76</sup> consisted of an overground part serving the cult of the dead, and of a subterranean part with the burial chamber. The royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings comprised only the underground part, whereas a separately built temple elsewhere was devoted to the cult of the dead King. While all the royal tombs had a rich decoration, in the majority of the private tombs only the walls of the overground rooms were decorated; the burial chamber remained, as a rule, a rough cache cut in the rock.

Decoration in the underground part appears only in 5 tombs of the 18th Dynasty, as well as in a number of Ramesside tombs in Deir el-Medina <sup>77</sup>. The exceptional decorated 18th Dynasty tombs are following: TT 61 (Useramun), TT 82 (Amenemhat), TT 87 (Minnakht), TT 96 (Sennefer) <sup>78</sup>, and TT 353 (Senenmut) <sup>79</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> The basic general work on the tomb architecture of the Theban necropolis is that by Steindorff and Wolf 1936, *passim*. The particular tombs have since long been published in monographs. A considerable number of Theban tombs have been edited in excellent graphic works by Norman and Nina de Garis Davies, some of them in cooperation with Alan Gardiner. The tombs in Deir el-Medina are systematically published by French scholars in the MIFAO series. In recent years some publications of Swiss and German scholars have appeared, which are characterized by a very high level of the editorial quality. These are: Brack 1977, Guksch 1978, Brack 1980, Feucht 1985. The last-mentioned book is the first of a series of the announced publications of some Theban Ramesside tombs, which are prepared by the Egyptological Institute of the University in Heidelberg under the direction of Prof. Jan Assmann.

<sup>77</sup> Steindorff and Wolf, *op. cit.*, p.57 n.2.

<sup>78</sup> *loc. cit.*; Brack 1977, p.14 n.38.

<sup>79</sup> The decorated subterranean room in the tomb of Senenmut is not the burial chamber. The latter was cut much further down, and it was never finished. It seems likely that it might have been planned to receive a royal-like decoration, for instance the Amduat-Book. The premise of such a conjecture is both the presence of the astronomical decoration on the ceiling of the upper chamber, and the well-known and historically attested ambitions of Senenmut.

In the tomb of the vizier Useramun a unique decoration occurs, comprising compositions from the royal religious repertoire: the Book Amduat and the Litany of the Sun (cf. § 5. above). The remaining above-mentioned tombs are decorated with texts and motives of the Book of the Dead<sup>80</sup>. The fullest ensemble of the chapters appears in the TT 82 of the reign of Tuthmosis III. These are the following chapters: the BD 8, 17, 18, 26 - 30, 38, 45, 50, 56, 62, 65, 66, 80, 93 - 97, 102, 105, 108, 117, 119, 125, 131 - 134, 141 - 142 and 148. The chapters are mostly recorded in textual form. On the contrary, the Ramesside tombs in Deir el-Medina mostly comprise BD-vignettes. The major ensembles of such represented chapters are found in the following tombs:

TT 1 (Sennedjem): BD 1, 17, 59, 68, 100, 108, 109, 110, 112, 116, 135, 146, 190;

TT 2 (Khabekhnnet): BD 1, 17, 59, 71, 92, 109, 125;

TT 3 (Pashedu): BD 1, 59, 62, 63, 78, 125, 137B, 180, 181;

TT 218 (Amennakht): BD 1, 2, 18, 59, 63, 71, 78, 110, 125, 135, 137B;

TT 290 (Irynefer): BD 1, 18, 63, 71, 78, 82, 83, 87, 88, 92, 109, 125, 135, 151, 166, 181;

TT 359 (Inherkhau): BD 17, 23, 26, 42, 64, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 100, 105, 108, 125, 126, 136B, 146, 149, 153A.

Except the last-mentioned tomb, which is dated in the 20th Dyn., these tombs originate from the time of Ramesses II.

In the overground rooms of the Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty the BD-motives were only exceptionally represented, except for the illustrations to BD 1 (the burial scenes) and BD 23 (the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth). The presence of these illustrations in the overground part of the tomb is, however, understandable, because the illustrated rituals were in fact celebrated in public above ground. Other BD-motives illustrating the mysteries of the Underworld were supposed to be accessible only for the deceased as the sole initiated, and they accompanied as a rule his mummy in the burial chamber.

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<sup>80</sup> The information concerning the occurrence of the BD-motives in the Theban private tombs has been gathered after Saleh, op. cit., passim.

The earliest case of the breaking of this rule occurred under Tuthmosis IV. Single BD-scenes appear in several overground rooms of tombs of that period: in TT 63 (the motif of the sy-camore goddess, being vignette to the BD 59), and in TT 69 (the scene of the Judgement of the Dead, or the BD 125/308). The number of the BD-chapters represented in the cult rooms of the tomb increased under Amenhotep III. In the tomb TT 57 dated in his reign one finds the illustrations and texts of BD 110, 112, 113 and 117. In Ramesside times the vignettes of various BD-chapters already dominate the repertoire of all the Theban tombs. Outside Deir el-Medina BD-chapters are found in several Theban tombs, especially in TT 41, 106, 158, 178, 183 and 296. The chapters most often encountered in tombs are BD 17 (appears in 30 tombs), BD 59 (51 tombs), BD 74 (21 tombs), BD 110 (18 tombs), BD 125+308 (62 tombs), and BD 144-145 (48 tombs).

#### § 17.

The question of a relationship between the tomb decoration and the contents of the BD-papyri in the New Kingdom is worth examining. Among Egyptologists an opinion prevails that <sup>81</sup>

"...jeder, der über die nötigen und recht beträchtlichen finanzieller Mittel verfügte /.../ konnte sich ein Totenbuch kaufen, es auf die Jenseitsreise mitnehmen und zusätzlich auch noch auf die Wände seiner Grabkammer malen lassen."

Doubts arise, however, when the funerary contexts of the papyri discovered during archaeological exploration is taken into consideration.

The oldest (the early 18th Dynasty) papyri and shrouds covered with the BD-texts originate without any exception from non-decorated tombs (cf. § 6 and n.21 above). The same observation is true for the funerary ensembles of the middle 18th Dynasty (the reigns of Tuthmosis III till Amenhotep III), those of Maiherperi, Juja and Kha. All these owners of the BD-papyri belonged to the well-to-do class of the Egyptian society, and one can guess that possessing of a decorated tomb would not have been impossible for them. Why did they not have such

<sup>81</sup> Hornung 1982a, pp.55-56. Cf. also Luft 1977b, p.81: "Die Frage, wer ein Grab und ein Totenbuch besessen hat, gehört zu den wichtigen soziologisch-historischen Fragen".

a tomb? It has been argued that the privilege of the localisation of a private tomb in the Valley of the Kings excluded the right of its owner to a decoration<sup>82</sup>. Herewith the cases of Maiherperi and Juja, who were buried in the Valley of the Kings, would have been explained, however not that of the architect Kha. His tomb lay in Deir el-Medina, and therefore was not a subject of the supposed restriction, and yet its burial chamber was devoid of any decoration, too<sup>83</sup>.

On the other hand, in another tomb in Deir el-Medina discovered untouched, TT 1 of Sennedjem (reign of Ramesses II), not one papyrus has been found, in spite of the fact that altogether 20 mummies were buried there<sup>84</sup>. One should stress the point that the burial chamber of this tomb is richly decorated exclusively with the BD-motives (cf. § 16. above).

With these observations, a conjecture seems to be justified that the wall decoration of a burial chamber with the texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead was an alternative to an ensemble of the BD-chapters on a funerary papyrus. From the religious point of view, the only important was the fact of possessing somewhere in one's funeral furniture of the proper composition of spells, formulas, hymns and other texts being magical equipment of the deceased for his journey to the Hereafter, and furnishing him the necessary information about the Underworld. The kind of the bearer of this religious substance and the chosen form of its expression were considered secondary. When somebody, even as well situated as the king's father-in-law Juja, or the king's favourite Maiherperi, or the architect Kha, was in possession of a papyrus with the proper ensemble of religious texts and figures, there was no need for a duplication of these in the form of the wall paintings in the tomb.

<sup>82</sup> Hornung 1978, p.83; id. 1982a, pp.51-52.

<sup>83</sup> The tomb of Kha (TT 8) is the only exception among the tombs of its kind (called "with a small pyramid") in Deir el-Medina, which all have the burial chambers richly decorated with the BD-motives; cf. Steindorff and Wolf, op. cit. p. 57 n.3.

<sup>84</sup> Toda and Daressy 1920, p. 151: "Le sol était couvert de corps: neuf d'entre eux enfermés dans leurs boîtes de sycomore, et onze étendus sur le sable."



It seems that the decorated sarcophagus chamber was initially an exclusively royal privilege, which was gradually claimed only later by the most powerful officials in the State. Senenmut in the time of Hatshepsut was probably the first (TT 353). Under Tuthmosis III further officials: the vizier Useramun (TT 61), his majordomo Amenemhat (TT 82), and the King's Master of the Horse and superintendent of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Minnakht (TT 87) were given the royal privilege. It is not excluded that the three officials were of some assistance to Tuthmosis III in the recovering by him the throne, and their merits were rewarded this way. Later in the 18th Dynasty it was only the mayor of Thebes, Sennefer (the reign of Amenhotep II) who decorated the burial chamber of his tomb (TT 96). However, the BD-motives<sup>85</sup> used there are mixed with cult scenes, which are typical rather for the decoration of the overground parts of tombs.

#### § 18.

It is worth underlining that even in the royal funerary equipment, and in exceptional private tombs, where some elements of the royal repertoire were used, no duplicating on papyri of the texts and figures of the religious compositions from the walls of the sarcophagi chambers occurs. As it has already been mentioned (§ 4); kings probably didn't possess papyri in their funerary equipment, and the only royal papyrus (found in the statuette of Amenhotep II in his tomb) contained quite a different composition (the so-called BD 168) than that represented on the walls of the tomb (the Book Amduat).

Similarly, the shroud of Tuthmosis III comprised the Book of the Dead and the texts of the Litany of the Sun, while in

<sup>85</sup> The BD 59, 151 and "the vignette G", which represents probably the group BD 107-116 (the after-life pilgrimage to the holy towns or religious centres), are mentioned in the book of Saleh, op. cit. One should add here the BD 183 (the adoration of Osiris), BD 1 (burial), BD 23 (Opening of the Mouth), and the purification scene that often accompanies the BD 110. On the ceiling, among the famous motives of the leaves and bunches of grapes, a figure of vulture with the spread wings was hidden, which is a traditional element of the decoration of royal tombs; cf. Hornung 1982a, p.60 fig. 31.

the tomb the Book of Amduat and the figures of the Litany of the Sun <sup>86</sup> are represented. The shroud appears, therefore, as complementary and by no means imitative bearer of the religious substance. Again, the BD-papyrus of Useramun <sup>87</sup> was only a royal-like additional enlargement of the decoration of his tomb, which comprised the Amduat and the Litany of the Sun.

It seems, therefore, conceivable that - at least during the 18th Dynasty - the fact of possessing of the tomb decorated with the BD-scenes (except for those representing rituals performed upon the earth) practically excluded the need for the BD-papyrus. Thus, the owners of the tombs TT 82, 87, 96 and 353 had most probably no papyrus version of the Book of the Dead, and vice versa, the well-known 18th Dynasty papyri (like those of Tjanena, Nu, Nebseni or Bakai) originate probably from non-decorated burial chambers.

This situation might have been disturbed in the Ramesside period, which brought some essential changes in the funerary equipment. One should recall that the BD-scenes belonged then (with exception of the Deir el-Medina group) to the repertoire of the overground parts of tombs. Therefore, the "mysteries of the Underworld" became accessible to everybody, which was inconsistent with the religious principle, previously rigorously applied, according to which only death made these mysteries recognizable to human beings. Secondly, the BD-manuscripts of the period are characterized by the refinement of their form, as seen in the colourful bordering ornament, in the multicoloured vignettes, even in the use of gilding <sup>88</sup>, which corresponds to the luxury of the life of the rich class of the Egyptian society of those days. The papyri give the impression that their owners intended to transfer worldly luxury into the Hereafter. The rich decoration of the private tombs with the religious motives appears to be nothing else than a kind of a de-luxe edition of the Book of the Dead. The scenes of adoration of the Sun, or of Osiris by the deceased and his wife

<sup>86</sup> The figures represented on the pillars of the sarcophagus chamber are accompanied only by a short introductory text that can be compared with a very small fragment of the text on the shroud; Hornung 1975-1976, Part I, pp.107-112.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. § 5. n.20 above.

that are present in every tomb may be regarded as corresponding with the etiquettes of the papyri. In these new conditions an eventual reduplication of the religious motives painted on the walls of the tomb by the papyrus BD-version becomes imaginable as a reflection of the sumptuousness of the epoch.

Some premises of the instance of such a reduplication have recently been furnished by German excavations in the tomb of Nefersekheru (TT 296) of the period of Ramesses II<sup>89</sup>. The decoration of the tomb comprises, among others, the motives of BD 1, 15, 17, 59, 62, 125, 146 and 186. In the underground part of the tomb in 1979 were found some fragments of the BD-papyrus of Nefersekheru<sup>90</sup>, where the chapters 1, 15B, 17, 125, 190 and a hymn to Osiris (i. e. probably BD 119, 181 or 181) have been identified. The papyrus might have belonged to the owner of the tomb<sup>91</sup>. Notwithstanding the possibility of a double use of some BD-motives in the same funerary equipment, there are no grounds to speak about any new rule applicable in the Ramesside period, but, at most, about exceptions to the rule of the alternative recording of the Book of the Dead either in the tomb decoration, or on papyrus. One should regard the fact that the only private Ramesside tomb discovered untouched in the presence of an archaeologist, namely the tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1 in Deir el-Medina) is very richly decorated, and (therefore) it furnished no papyri. The "rule of the alternative" was fully confirmed at the dawn of the 21st

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Alexander and James 1965, passim.

<sup>89</sup> Feucht 1985, passim.

<sup>90</sup> Burkard in: Feucht, op. cit., pp.154-160, pls.47-48. Two fragments bear the numbers 1001 and 1002 (according to the plate 47). The latter fragment has been, by oversight, published in the text under the number 1003. Both pieces belonged presumably to one papyrus, in spite of the different shape of hieroglyphs on P. 1001 and P.1002. Such differences are often confirmed on the manuscripts of the Ramesside period (cf. Excursus A).

<sup>91</sup> One should, however, not exclude a possibility that the papyrus belonged to another Nefersekheru, a namesake of the owner of the tomb, maybe his son or grandson. Cf. Luft 1977b, p.81: "...da innerhalb einer Familie immer wieder die gleichen Namen in jeder Generation oder in jeder zweiten Generation auftreten." In the quoted article an attempt is made to connect the BD-papyrus of Neferonpet in Philadelphia with the tomb of Neferonpet (TT 336) in Deir el-Medina,

dynasty, when after the giving up of the decorated tombs, the function of bearer of the funerary texts and motives was completely taken over by the papyri and the walls of the coffin cases <sup>92</sup>.

## 2. The funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty against the background of the general characterization of the epoch

### A - The resignation of decorated tombs in Thebes

#### § 19.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Egyptian capital of the Ramesside period was transferred to the north, the kings were traditionally buried in the rock tombs in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes. The richly decorated tombs of the officials were cut and built in the Theban Necropolis, until the late 20th Dynasty, in spite of the fact that the stormy events of those days (the civil war related to the names of the HP Amenhotep and the viceroy of Nubia Panehsy, the "year of hyenas", or famine, the strikes of the Necropolis workmen, the processes against the tomb-robbers, etc) created an unfavourable atmosphere for the building of the tombs <sup>93</sup>. There is not one archaeologically attested decorated tomb in Thebes of the period between the late 20th and the 25th Dynasty <sup>94</sup>. All the

<sup>92</sup> The decoration of the anthropoid coffins changed during the New Kingdom, but it always repeated one traditional pattern reflecting that on the royal sarcophagi. The decoration comprised some simple funerary formulae and figures of the protective deities, and the motives from the walls of the tomb and from the RD-papyrus were, therefore, not repeated on coffins. The only exception are the funerary transport chapels on sledges found in the tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1), which are decorated with some BD-motives (among others the RD 17). About the development of the coffin decoration in the New Kingdom, cf. Niwiński 1988, §§ 8-12.

<sup>93</sup> Only few Theban tombs can be dated to the late 20th Dynasty and most of these are, like the TT 65 of Imiemseba (the reign of Ramesses IX) usurped from the earlier owners. The latest tombs dated to this period are TT 113 (of Kynebu, reign of Ramesses VIII), TT 65 and TT 293 (reign of Ramesses XI). The Ramesside tomb TT 68, which was usurped and given some additional inscriptions under the reign of Smenkheper in the late 21st Dyn. is the only exception (cf. Černý 1940, passim).

<sup>94</sup> The earliest decorated Theban tombs of the Late Period are TT 132 (of Ramose, the reign of Taharka), TT 33 (of Petamenope, 25th/26th Dyn.), TT 34 (of Mentuemhat, time of Ta-

tombs of the Third Intermediate Period have the form of rock caches containing the shaft, the corridor and one or more rough chambers, the walls of which are even not smoothed.

The breaking with the many centuries tradition of the sepulchral architecture was possible in Egypt, as it seems, only in some exceptional circumstances. The odds are that the resigning of the traditional structure and decoration of Theban tombs was administratively decided in the course of the martial law period, euphemistically called "the Renaissance Era" (whm mswt). It can be assumed that the increasing occurrence of the tomb robbery <sup>95</sup>, having been a consequence of worsening of the economic situation of the Egyptian society, and among others of the workmen of the Theban Necropolis, lay at the origin of this undoubtedly unpopular decision. It must have become obvious that, practically, no system existed that would protect a tomb against plundering, and a mummy against sacrilege. Thus, the giving up of the easily accessible overground cult part of the tomb, the localisation of which was indicative of that of the burial chamber, created more chance for the mummy to escape desecration.

It is, of course, hardly imaginable that the resignation of the cult rooms would have meant the giving up of the performances of the cult of dead. The person who took the administrative decision, was at the same time a priest (the High Priest of Amun, probably Herihor), and he was obliged to obey the religious tradition. There is, therefore, a question, where some burial ceremonies, like the Opening of the Mouth, as well as the later acts of the cult of the dead, like the offerings on the occasion of various feasts, especially the Wag-feast and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, could have taken place? In the work on the coffins a hypothesis has been put forward that such a place, separated from the Necropolis and adapted for the rituals of the cult of all the dead Theban citizens-priests of the 21st Dynasty could have been situated within

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harka and Psammetik I), and TT 36 (of Ibi, reign of Psammetik I).

<sup>95</sup> The last trial of Theban tomb robbers attested in documents took place under Ramesses XI, probably not long before the beginning of the "Renaissance Era"; cf. Peet 1930, I, 3, group V.

the precinct of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari <sup>96</sup>. Around the temple the finding places of the tomb-caches of the late 21st Dynasty are concentrated, and at the same time not one grave of the period has been found in the precinct itself. Assuming this to be true, one can add that some other temple areas in Western Thebes might have played in the Dynasty a similar role, too <sup>97</sup>. It should be recalled that the concept of separation of the burial place from the sanctuary of the cult of the dead was already realized in Thebes in the beginning of the New Kingdom for the royal funerary ensembles, which could have been regarded in the 21st Dynasty as a pattern deserving of imitation.

The resignation of the overground rooms of the tomb does not explain the absence of the decoration in the burial chambers, all the more so as the type of the underground tomb decoration was developed in the Ramesside tombs in Deir el-Medina. However, practical reasons aiming at the protection of the mummies, also played, as it seems, here an essential role. As long as the pits and corridors of the future tombs, many of which were cut in the rock at the same time, remained anonymous, the tomb-robbers were not acquainted with their appropriation, and the risk of plundering of such caches was hereby theoretically diminished. Any decoration involving the writing on the walls somebody's name and titles would have considerably augmented the danger, especially in case of well-known and rich persons. The High-Priests of Amun in Thebes, factual rulers of Upper Egypt, also had undecorated tombs, and they created thus a pattern to be followed. The burial places of the High-Priests: Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem I, Masaharti, Men-

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<sup>96</sup> Miwiński 1988, § 29.

<sup>97</sup> It seems that the burial places in the early 21st Dynasty were concentrated mostly in the area of Deir el-Medina, near the small temple recorded by the early discoverers as "The Temple of Isis" (cf. Minutoli 1824, p.263; Athanasi 1836, pp.64, 73, 83, 119, 123.) The actual temple was built in the Ptolemaic period, but on the same spot an earlier sanctuary most probably had existed in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period.

kheperre and Nesbanebdjed are unknown to us, and only the family tomb of Pinudjem II seems to have been identified <sup>98</sup>. The fact that in the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari the reburied mummies of the HP Pinudjem I with his wife Henuttawy and his daughter Maatkare; the HP Masaharti and of HP Herihor's wife Nodjmet <sup>99</sup> have been found indicates that the individual tomb-caches secured insufficient protection from robbery, which continued during the 21st Dynasty. Better results were assured only through the founding of a well-protected cemetery with some huge mass tomb-caches (like Bab el-Gusus) in later years of the Dynasty.

## § 20.

The giving up of tomb decoration and a general worsening of the economic situation of the Theban society had consequences reflected in the contents of the funerary equipment of the early 21st Dynasty. Papyri of the Book of the Dead were traditionally an alternative bearer of the funerary texts and representations which were not painted in the tombs. However, the economic deficiencies meant that in comparison to the New Kingdom, funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty were much shorter <sup>100</sup>, and the typical height of a papyrus scroll corresponded to about 1/2 of that of the earlier periods. In consequence, the whole decorated surface of the papyrus was much smaller than that on the papyri of the 18th-19th Dynasties (cf. § 15. above), and it seldom exceeded 1 sq. m.

<sup>98</sup> This was the tomb generally known as the "Royal Cache", or the "First Cachette" in Deir el-Bahari; cf. Niwifski 1984b, *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> The mummy of Herihor has never been found. On the BD-papyrus of Nodjmet (London 60 + Paris 47 + loc. unkn. 2) in some scenes Herihor is represented together with his spouse. Nodjmet died, however, much later than Herihor, and her papyrus appears to have commemorated her husband many years after his death. It is not excluded that the mummy of Herihor fell a victim to somebody's vengeance, because his name and figure on a stela (now in Leiden) has deliberately been destroyed; cf. Wenig 1967, p.135.

<sup>100</sup> Some exceptions to the rule concern, above all, the BD-papyri of the members of the family of the High Priest of Amun. These are the papyri of Nany (New York 13, 5,64 m long), of Maatkare (Cairo 43, 6,12 m long), of Nesikhons (Cairo 109, 6,90 m), of Gatseshen (Cairo 32, 17,94 m), of Tjanefer (Cairo 81, 5,70 m), of Pinudjem II (London 63,

In this situation the rendering of the rich religious contents of the Book of the Dead could be attempted only through an extreme development of the pars pro toto-rule. Not only did each BD-manuscript of the 21st Dyn. contained only a selection of the BD-chapters, but also each chapter was represented only by a small fragment of the text, or solely by the title, or else only by a vignette. To illustrate this, one can mention two BD-papyri of the early 21st Dynasty: of Nany, Herihor's daughter (papyrus New York 13), and of Henuttawy, Pinudjem I's wife (papyrus Cairo 36). The former papyrus comprises fragmentary texts of 10 BD-chapters, 6 of which being illustrated, and another 16 chapters are represented in form of vignettes without texts. The second above-mentioned papyrus contains altogether 19 chapters, some of them in the form of the titles accompanied only with few subsequent words <sup>101</sup>.

B - Principles of the theology of the 21st Dynasty, reflected in the funerary material

§ 21.

The development of the pictorial mode of expression of the religious ideas that had already dominated under the Ramessides, reached an apex in the 21st Dynasty. A series of new iconographic compositions were then created, which represented complicated conceptions of cosmogony, cosmology and eschatology by means of a limited number of figural symbols. All these scenes were an illustration of the principal theological idea of the period: the solar-Osirian unity of the aspects of the Great God, with whom the deified deceased was identified. As an incarnation of the solar aspect of the God, he was believed to traverse eternally the space of the upper (visible, daily) as well as the lower (invisible, nightly) sky. During the travel the deceased as a form of the Sun passed through an infinite number of transformations that were at the same time understood as multiplex creations of Osiris "with many faces" (ḥrw), or "with many forms" (ḥprw), or else "with many names" (nmw).

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6,80 m), of Nodjmet (London 60 + Paris 47 + loc. unkn.2, about 14,60 m), of Nesitanebetasheru (London 61, 40,54 m).  
 101 The papyrus of Henuttawy is published by Mariette 1871-76, pls. 12-18. As to the contents of the Nany's papyrus, cf.



This idea of an eternal post mortem solar journey, and the assuming of multiplicity of forms expressed the same tenor as the royal funerary theological compositions: the Books of the Underworld and the Litany of the Sun of the New Kingdom. In the new historical situation of Thebes in the 21st Dynasty, when the figure of the King residing far away in Tanis was practically overshadowed by the near all-powerful person of the Theban High Priest of Amun, these formerly exclusively royal compositions became part of the funerary repertoire of the citizens-priests of the "State of Amun", who since their early childhood were given the priests' titles: w'b, it-ntr, or šm'yt n'Imn.

To render these theological concepts and the ex-royal compositions, the limited surface of one BD-papyrus ceased to be sufficient. At that moment an idea was conceived, to use the



Fig. 2

exterior side walls of the coffin, the dimensions and shape of which recalled those of a papyrus. Since the early 21st Dynasty, on the walls of the inner coffins a new iconographic repertoire appears that includes such compositions like: the scene with Geb and Nut (Fig. 2), the scene with the Great Ser-

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Winlock 1930, p.22.

pent on the Double Staircase (Fig. 3), the scene of the Tri-



Fig. 3

umph of the solar bark over Apopis cut with knives (Fig. 4),



Fig. 4

the scene with the Sycamore Goddess (Fig. 5), or the scene



Fig. 5

with the Cosmic Cow going forth from the Western Mountain (Fig. 6). The two last-mentioned compositions show the clear relationship with the BD-motives (chapters 59 and 186). Here



Fig. 6

a conjecture presents itself that all these scenes, being works of theologians and artists of the 21st Dynasty, might have been regarded by the Egyptians as vignettes of the new pictorial redaction of the Book of the Dead, which by means of a dozen much developed symbolic compositions, represented in fact the same religious substance as had been rendered before through several hundreds of spells. It should be added that the introducing of the new repertoire on the walls of the inner coffins has by no means broken the tradition of the cof-

fins' decoration, because the exterior of the outer coffins continued for many years to be decorated with the old motives (for instance, the figures of the Sons of Horus). The first relatively well-dated funerary ensemble (of the time of the pontificate of the HP Masaharti) comprising the coffin with the new decoration belonged to Nany, the HP Herihor's daughter <sup>102</sup>.

From the same tomb the oldest known papyrus entitled t' mḏ't imy D't originates, which accompanied Nany in the Hereafter besides of the BD-papyrus traditionally entitled t' pry m hrw. The latter papyrus was found in the Osirian wooden figure, while the former lay directly on the mummy, being rolled and put between her thighs, under the outer layers of the bandages. This new papyrus comprised a series of figures of the solar, and at the same time, Osirian forms, each figure being incarnation of the deceased, whose name and title accompanies every second form. The custom of placing the mḏ't imy D't-papyrus amongst the mummy-linen like an amulet was presumably reflected in a new spell of the Ritual of Embalming, and it may be connected with the improvement of the mummification process in the 21st Dynasty. Since the early years of the Dynasty <sup>103</sup>, until at least the middle of the 9th century B.C. <sup>104</sup> each typical funerary ensemble comprised two papyri: the BD-manuscript in the papyrus-sheath, and the "Amduat"-papyrus bandaged together with the mummy, usually placed between its legs <sup>105</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> The coffin New York, MMA 30.3.23-25. As to the Nany's affiliation, cf. Niwiński 1985, pp.82-83.

<sup>103</sup> No papyrus has been found on the mummy of a priest Nesamun who died under Ramesses XI (the information from the mummy-braces). Similarly, the decoration of the coffin of Nesamun (now in Leeds) did not yet comprise scenes of the new ("classical") iconographic repertoire; cf. Osburn 1928, passim.

<sup>104</sup> The latest datable pair of the funerary papyri have been found with the mummy of Osorkon, son of the HP Sheshonq, and grandson of the King Osorkon I (Leningrad 4 and 5). Since the HP Sheshonq died about 890 BC, his son probably prepared his funerary equipment some 30-40 years later, in the middle of the 9th century B.C.

<sup>105</sup> However, in the Bab el-Gusus tomb a number of mummies have been discovered, which apparently were not equipped with papyri, cf. Daressy 1907, pp.21-38. On one mummy a wooden stick was found instead of a roll of papyrus; cf. op. cit. p.34 (mummy nr 130 according to Daressy's A-numbers).

C - The diversity of the funerary papyri of the 11th - 10th centuries B.C.

§ 22.

In the course of the 21st Dynasty, thus during more than 100 years, both categories of the papyri: the Book of the Dead (BD) and the Amduat (A) underwent a formal and essential evolution. The generally applied custom of equipping the deceased with two rolls of funerary papyri caused an increase of the number of Theban workshops producing them. Artists of diverse ability were employed there, which explains the different quality of the products; this might also have been influenced by the property circumstances of particular clients. The workshops, as one can conclude from the great diversity of the types of papyri of the period, possessed at their disposal various sets of patterns of the texts and motives, especially of the pictorial compositions that were generally preferred comparing with the textual ones. A new phenomenon in the 21st Dynasty was the introduction of the hieratic script to record religious texts; the hieroglyphs, however, continued to be used as well.

The common opinion in the Egyptological literature about the papyri of the 21st Dynasty has been shaped after Naville's statement, according to which the manuscripts of the period are representatives of the decadence of the BD-form, which, in turn, reflects the general decline of the State. Besides, in Naville's opinion, in the 21st Dynasty only very erroneous versions of the hieroglyphic papyri can be encountered, while the commonest BD-version of the period is the hieratic Book of the Dead, which replaced the hieroglyphic one<sup>106</sup>. These statements can be, in the light of new research, regarded as much too schematic.

<sup>106</sup> Naville 1886, pp.35-37: "Unter der XX. und XXI. Dynastie verlor sich dies Verständnis. Der Verfall bemächtigte sich des ganzen Reiches und mußte bald zur Anarchie führen /.../ In dieser Zeit sind diese äußerlich so schönen Papyri geschrieben, die in Hinsicht des Textes nicht taugen. Die Schreiber wußten nicht mehr, an welcher Seite sie anfangen sollten oder nach welcher Richtung sie schreiben mußten. Dann erscheinen die hieratischen Papyri, welche die hieroglyphischen bald ganz verdrängen."

Firstly, the period of the 21st Dynasty appears not to have been a time of Egypt's collapse. On the contrary, numerous reforms then carried out testifies rather to a set-back of the decline faced by the period of the Ramessides. The half-a-century long reign of the King Psusennes I and the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre in Thebes of the same length, seems to be indicative of a stabilization then obtained, even if only temporary one. Secondly, notwithstanding the political or economic situation of the State, any decline or a decadence of religious ideas is out of question in the period. In the conditions of the theocratic Theban "State of Amun" much importance was attached to religious beliefs, and especially to the proper equipping of the deceased for his journey to the Hereafter. Proofs of this are furnished both by the perfected mode of mummification and by the decoration of the coffins and papyri. The numerous abbreviations in texts and the domination of pictorial means of expression resulted from the consciously applied pars pro toto-rule, and not from a lack of ability of the theologians and artists of the period. Thirdly, the introduction of hieratic did not eliminate hieroglyphs from the religious texts. The etiquette was, for instance, always formulated in hieroglyphs, and in some papyri the hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts appear side by side in one text (for example, in the papyrus London 2).

In the 21st Dynasty and the early 22nd Dynasty the greatest diversity of types of the funerary papyri occurred, which resulted from the active combination of various factors of religious and socio-economic nature. The Theban funerary equipments contained both hieroglyphic and hieratic manuscripts, some of them being called the Book of the Dead, and some others entitled Amduat. The last-mentioned papyri represent sometimes new theological compositions, sometimes they are pious copies of the royal Book Amduat of the 18th Dynasty, or they may consist exclusively of the traditional BD-motives. On the other hand, some papyri entitled pry m hrw do not resemble the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom at all. One can meet in the 21st Dynasty papyri motives and the scenes known very well from the earlier manuscripts and from the tomb decoration of the New Kingdom, but also often one finds himself

faced with quite new texts and scenes without any analogy. The papyri differ decidedly in form, style and the quality of execution. Beside the papyri executed very carefully, and faithfully following the rules of the Egyptian orthography and calligraphy, other more careless manuscripts are encountered, which obviously were products of some secondary workshops. Some scrolls are as narrow as ca 8 cm in height, some others reach over 45 cm; some of the papyri (complete manuscripts) are as short as about 30 cm, there are others many times longer (the longest papyrus has over 40 m in length). There are coloured papyri with their vignettes painted red, white, blue, green, brown, pink and even gilded ones, and the figures on some other papyri of the same period are only outlined in black. Some of the manuscripts contain mostly the texts, while other contemporary papyri consist exclusively of figures.

In this situation, to understand such a complexity and diversity, an attempted analysis of the particular categories of the funerary papyri of the 11th-10th century B.C. appears necessary.





Chapter II. History of the research into the funerary papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C.

1. History of the discoveries and collecting of the papyri  
 A - Funerary papyri of the 21st-22nd Dynasties from private collections of the XIXth century

§ 23.

The history of the collecting of funerary papyri corresponds well to that of Egyptology itself. Since the very beginning of European interest in ancient Egyptian antiquities, papyri played an essential role, being one of the most desired purposes of the predatory excavations of the natives, who were inspired and paid by the travellers and the collectors of the XIXth century. Yet a half-a-century before, papyri had represented no value for the occasional discoverers, which is illustrated with the well-known case of the burning of a set of Greek manuscripts found in 1778 by peasants in Fayum because of the pleasant smell of burning papyrus<sup>1</sup>. The peasants' interest in searching for antiquities was obviously awoken by the activities of Napoleon's scientific Commission in Egypt. During the journey of Denon to the Upper Egypt in 1799 two funerary papyri of the series included in the present work were found in Gurna, and the excitement of Denon indicates that Egyptian manuscripts on papyrus were then practically unknown to scholars<sup>2</sup>. The papyri of Denon came after his death into

<sup>1</sup> Černý 1952 (1977), p.31; also Baikie 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Denon 1802, pls. 137-138. The following record of the discovery is quoted from the German edition by Arndt in the Knaur's series Reisen und Entdeckungen, Tübingen 1978, p.304: "Man muß neugierig, Liebhaber sein, ja selbst reisen, um diesen Genuß in seiner ganzen Größe schätzen zu können. Ich fühlte, daß ich blaß wurde, und wollte denen Vorwürfe machen, welcher meiner dringenden Bitten ungeachtet diese Mumie beschädigt hatten, als ich in seiner rechten Hand und unter dem linken Arm das Manuskript aus Schilfrohr zusammengerollt fand, welches ich vielleicht nie ohne diese Beschädigung würde gesehen haben. Die Stimme versagte und ich segnete die Habgier der Araber und besonders den Zufall, der mir dieses Glück aufbewahrt hatte. Ich wußte nicht, was ich mit meinem Schatz anfangen sollte, so sehr war ich in Furcht, ihn zu beschädigen. Ich wagte das Buch nicht zu berühren, das älteste, was wir bis jetzt kennen. /.../ Enthielt es vielleicht die Geschichte dieser Person? War in demselben seine Lebens-

the possession of Drovetti, the French Consul-General in Egypt, who presented them in 1827 to a Russian official. At present the papyri belong to the Saltykov-Šchedrin Library in Leningrad (cf. Leningrad 4 and 5 on the list of the sources) <sup>3</sup>.

Because of the civil war in the years following the Napoleon's expedition, there was an unfavourable time in Egypt for any research. The situation gradually stabilized after the massacre of the Mamelukes in 1811, and about 1815 activities of first collectors of antiquities were broadly developing. To the earliest officially attested excavations in Thebes that have produced funerary papyri belong those of Somerset Lowry-Corry (the Earl of Belmore) <sup>4</sup>. From these, the papyri London 22 and 46 originate. Thebes was then the area of the extensive predatory unearthing conducted by the rivalling gangs employed by some persons of weight, especially foreign diplomats. These were, in the first place, the British Consul-General Henry Salt, the French Consul-General Bernardino Drovetti, the French Consul at Alexandria Pierre Thédénat-Duvent, and the Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate, Giuseppe di Nizzoli; besides them, however, rich private travellers appeared, like James Burton, or Frédéric Cailliaud. The most influential among the "first generation" collectors were Drovetti and Salt. The latter employed two skilful excavators: Giovanni Belzoni and Giovanni ("Yanni") d'Athanasia, who were also collecting antiquities on their own account. Similarly, some persons of Salt's circle, like his deputy Lavoratori, or his medical attendant, Dr. Cimba, made their own valuable collections during the period of the Consul's activity. Through Salt's generosity, the collection of George Annesley (Viscount Valentia) was created as well. All the above-mentioned collections contained funerary papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C.

Papyri were in those days one of the principal goals of the discoverers' efforts.

"The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri; of which I found a few hidden in their

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zeit und die Regierung, unter welcher sie lebte, aufgezeichnet? Waren es einige Lehren, Gebete, oder waren in ihm einige Entdeckungen aufbewahrt?"

<sup>3</sup> Evgenova 1957: papyri 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> Information concerning the activities of the XIXth century

breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, or on the legs, and covered by the numerous folds of cloth, that envelop the mummy"

- wrote Belzoni <sup>5</sup>, and it is interesting to compare this with d'Athanasī's following statement: <sup>6</sup>

"...yet it was a friend of Mr. Belzoni himself who told us that the latter had sent to Europe, through my informant's hands, forty papyri, which on Belzoni's arrival there, were to be restored to him; and that at a period when Mr. Salt not only did not possess any papyri himself, but moreover knew nothing of any except by report."

There is another interesting record worth quoting in the book of d'Athanasī, which inform us about the first discovery of papyrus-sheaths, or the containers of the BD-papyri, probably of the 21st Dynasty: <sup>7</sup>

"In 1817, three Arabs came to seek employment in our excavations, but owing to their advanced age their services were not accepted. On being thus repulsed, they decided to go elsewhere and work on their own account, and on the same day found two idols, which, however, being black and of ordinary execution they took no heed of. Towards evening vexed at having found nothing of value, they left off working /.../. One of them, however, /.../ took up the two black idols, and proceeded towards the river, where were then Lord Belmore, Mr. Salt, and M. Drouetti. The Arab no sooner saw them than he addressed himself to the last-mentioned, who offered him fifty paras for them both; the Arab demanded twenty more, making in all a piastre and a half /.../ but as M. Drouetti would give no more than he at first offered, the man furiously threw one of the idols on the ground, when, to the astonishment of all present, a large papyrus rolled out of it. /.../ M. Drouetti, who had made so many difficulties about the disputed twenty paras, now found himself obliged to pay a much larger price for the papyrus and the other idol than was at first demanded for them. From that moment this mystery of the ancient Egyptians, or more properly of their priests, was no longer a secret to the inhabitants of Gournā."

The "papyrus-hunting" in Thebes reached its apex between 1820 and 1835; in the last-mentioned year the act prohibiting the removal of antiquities from Egypt was issued. In this space of time most of the important private collections came

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collectors are mostly based on Dawson and Uphill 1972, *passim*. Cf. also Dawson 1949, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Belzoni 1835, p.146.

<sup>6</sup> Athanasī 1836, p.40.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, pp.58-59.

into being, which included funerary papyri. In addition to Salt, Drovetti, Nizzoli, Burton and Athanasi, who continued then to enlarge their collections, the following collectors' names should be mentioned: Baron Heinrich von Minutoli, an envoy of the Prussian Government to Egypt in the years 1820 - 1821; Edward King (Viscount Kingsborough), Irish collector who gathered a number of Egyptian manuscripts in the years 1820-1826; Antoine Bartélemy Clot (Bey), surgeon of Muhammad Ali (1823-1832); Robert Hay (1824-1838), Baron Franz von Koller (1824); Carlo Ottavio Castiglione (before 1826); Alessandro Picci, Italian draughtsman associated with Belzoni and later with Champollion and Rosellini (1815-1830); Joseph Sams, English antiquities dealer (1832-1833); Giuseppe Passalacqua, Italian excavator and collector called by the Arabs "the Consul-General of Antiquities" (before 1826); and the genuine Consuls-Generals: the Swedish-Norwegian one, Giovanni Anastasi (1828-1857); the Austrian one, Giuseppe Acerbi (1828-1834); the French one, Jean François Mimaud (1829-1837); and the British one, John Barker (1829-1833).

The great demand for papyri among the European travellers have meant that some papyri discovered by the natives were cut into pieces, each fragment being subsequently offered for sale. This underhand dealing with papyri, numerous examples of which may be seen in many museums (cf. Pls. 33b-c, 35a - 36a), has already been observed by Minutoli. His relation is worth quoting, as it indicates the amount of funerary papyri being traded in those days in Egypt: <sup>8</sup>

"Selbst bei den Papyrusrollen, auf die man erst neuerlich aufmerksamer geworden ist, haben die Araber schon Betrügereien auszuüben gelernt. Sie zerschneiden die gefundenen Rollen der Länge oder Breite nach in mehrere Theile, tauchen die Enden in zerlassenes Mumienharz und hintergehen auf diese Art unkundige oder unaufmerksame Reisende. Man muß daher beim Ankauf derselben sich wohl vorsehen, daß man vollständige Rollen erhalte. Seit der französischen Expedition ist bereits eine große Anzahl dieser Rollen, theils mit Bildwerken und Hieroglyphen, theils mit hieratischer und griechischer Schrift gefunden worden. Außer den einzeln nach England, Frankreich und andern Ländern versetzten, besitzt Herr Drovetti eine Sammlung von 180 Rollen, die Herren Salt und d'Anastasy in Cairo und Alexandrien eine bedeutende Anzahl, und ich habe während meines kurzen Aufenthalts in Aegypten dreiund-

<sup>8</sup> Minutoli 1824, p.268.

funfzig zusammengebraucht..."

An embargo of 1835 on the taking antiquities away from Egypt diminished much the papyri trade, however it has never stopped it. In the middle XIXth century some new collections came into being, namely those of: Sir C. Murray, British Consul-General in Egypt (1846-1853);, A. Harris; G.J. Chester; W.F. Hood; A.H. Rhind, or H. Duc de Luynes. A collection comprising among other things some papyri was brought from Egypt in 1846 also by K. Richard Lepsius.

#### § 24.

The collections created in Egypt were subsequently offered to the greatest State Museums of antiquities in Europe: to the British Museum, to the Louvre, the Royal Museum in Berlin, the State Museum in Leiden, or they were sold in auctions, mostly at Sotheby's, London, and in Hôtel Drouot, Paris. The following dates are of importance to the history of the occurrence of the funerary papyri in the museum collections:

In 1821 the British Museum purchased the first collection of Salt, which comprised, among others, the papyri: London 12, 15-19, 32, 43, 49, and 54 (according to the list of the sources published in the Part Two of the present work).

In 1822 the collection of Thédénat-Duvent was sold in Paris; from this the papyrus Paris 9 (in the Bibliothèque Nationale) originates <sup>9</sup>.

In 1823 a Mr. Cazati sold to the Museum in Avignon a papy-

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<sup>9</sup> The old archives of the Louvre, unfortunately, seldom inform one about the origin of particular objects. Several thousand of the lowest inventory numbers of the Egyptian collection in the Louvre are preceded by the capital letter N (= Napoleon), which points to the early XIXth century as the period when these objects came to the Museum. The papyri Paris 10-43 of the list of the sources belong among these objects in Louvre, the provenance of which is unknown. Although some of them might have come from individual donations, or secondary sales, the majority probably originate from a few big collections. These were collections of: Cail-liaud (brought to France in 1822); that of Thédénat-Duvent (sold in Paris in 1822), the second collection of Salt (sold in Paris in 1824), the collection of Denon (sold in Paris in 1826), the second collection of Drovetti (bought by the Louvre about 1830), the collection of Mimaut (sold in Paris in 1837), the collection Clot-Bey (bought by the Louvre in 1852), and the third collection of Anastasi (sold in Paris in 1857).

rus, which, according to his information "had been found in the subterranean parts of the Karnak temple in 1820".

In 1823 the papyri Berlin 1-4, 6-8, 13-19, and 21-27 from the collection Minutoli came to the Royal Museum in Berlin.

In 1824 the first collection of Drovetti was bought by the King of Sardinia; among the antiquities that are now in the Egyptian Museum in Turin, the papyri Turin 1-29 are found.

In 1826 the collection Castiglione was acquired by the Russian Academy of Sciences (among others the papyrus Lenin-grad 1).

In the same year the Museum in Leiden purchased the papyrus Leiden 4 from the collection of Cimba. Two years later (1828) Anastasi's first collection came to Leiden, comprising the papyri Leiden 1-3, 5-10, 12 and 14-19.

In 1828 Passalacqua's collection was bought by the King of Prussia for the Berlin Museum (with the papyri Berlin 5, 20 and A); Passalacqua himself then became Keeper of Egyptian antiquities in this Museum.

In 1832 a part of Nizzoli's collection was bought by Pelagio Palagi for the Museum in Bologna (with the papyri Bologna 1-3); earlier parts of the same collection of Nizzoli came to Vienna (in 1820) and Florence (1824).

In 1833 Barker's collection was sold at Sotheby's; the papyri London 1-2, 24-25, 28, 30, 33 and 35 originate from this auction. In the same year the sale of Lavoratori's collection was held at Sotheby's; the papyri London 3 and 7 were bought there.

In 1835 the British Museum purchased the collection of Sams, including the papyri London 21, 26-27, 29 and 41-43.

In 1836 Burton's collection was sold at Sotheby's, from which the papyrus London E originates.

In 1838 Howard Vyse presented to the British Museum several papyri, among others London 39 and 44.

In 1839 the British Museum purchased the second collection of Anastasi (with the papyri London 11, 14, 40, 50 and 57).

In 1840 the Bishop Samuel Butler sold to the British Museum his collection of manuscripts, among them papyrus London 20.

In 1845 a part of d'Athanasii's collection was sold at Sotheby's; the papyri London 45 and Berlin 10 originate from

this sale.

In 1846 Richard Lepsius presented to the Museum Berlin his collection, comprising the papyri Berlin 11-12, and B.

In 1853 the papyri Marseille 1-3 were bought, having originated from the collection of Clot-Bey.

In 1854 some papyri from the collection of Annesley (Valentia) came to the British Museum, and among them the pap. London 13.

In 1857 the sale of Anastasi's third collection took place in Paris. Some papyri were on this occasion purchased by Baron Alphonse Mallet, whose descendants sold them in 1951 to the Louvre (Paris 48-50).

In 1858 the Count Bagration presented the papyrus Leningrad 6 to the Library in Petersburg.

In 1861 the British Museum purchased the papyrus London 31 from the collection Murray.

In 1863-1864 papyri Paris 1 and 44 from the collection de Luynes were acquired by the museums in Paris.

In 1865 the British Museum purchased from David Bremner some papyri originating from the collection of Rhind, among others the papyrus London C.

In the same year the papyri London 9, 23 and B from the collection of Hay, and in the next year the papyrus London 8 from the collection Pierre Louis Duc de Blacas d'Aulps were bought by the British Museum.

In 1872 the British Museum acquired the collection of Harris (with the papyri London 52 and 53).

In 1875 the rest of Minutoli's collection was sold in Cologne; from this sale the Warsaw papyrus originates.

B - The papyri from the great discoveries in Deir el-Bahari in the late XIXth and the early XXth century

§ 25.

However numerous, the funerary papyri from the private collections of the XIXth century were seldom accompanied with data on the archaeological context of the discovery, and thereby their value as sources of historical information is considerably limited. The situation has much changed after some ensembles of papyri had been found and brought to light under the

supervision of Egyptologists. The first such group of manuscripts, which belonged to the members of the family of High Priests of Amun in Thebes of the 21st Dynasty originates from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, officially discovered in 1881.

The cache had, however, been explored during at least the 9 preceeding years, since already in 1872 first objects originating from there appeared in trade. To them belonged the BD-papyrus of Djedptahiufankh, found in the Osirian papyrus-sheath; it became property of Marianne Brocklehurst<sup>10</sup>. Other two papyri from the cache, belonging to Henuttawy, the wife of Pinudjem I were bought by Mariette for the Museum in Boulaq<sup>11</sup>. In 1874 the Colonel Archibald Campbell purchased at Thebes another BD-manuscript of the same kind and origin<sup>12</sup>. The fifth papyrus removed from the cache by the Arabs was the long Book of the Dead of Nodjmet, which has been cut into three parts. Two fragments of the papyrus are now owed by the British Museum and the Louvre, the present location of the third one is unknown (these are papyri London 60, Paris 47 and loc. unkn. 2, respectively)<sup>13</sup>. The second papyrus of Nodjmet, also originating from the Royal Cache, was bought about 1874-1876 by Edward Stanton, the British Consul-General in Egypt.

<sup>10</sup> Described by Amelia Edwards 1883, the papyrus (Brocklehurst 1) has vanished afterwards from Egyptologists' sight, and its present location remains unknown (= loc. unkn.1 in the list of the sources).

<sup>11</sup> They were published by Mariette 1872, vol.3, pls. 12-21 (= Cairo 36 and 47).

<sup>12</sup> Maspero 1889a, p.512, pl. I. The papyrus remained in the possession of the family Campbell until 1960 and was then presented by the Trustees of the late Hon. Mus. Olive Douglas Methuen Campbell of Blythswood to the British Museum (= London 63).

<sup>13</sup> loc. cit.; according to Maspero, based on Lauth's information from Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung 1882, p.658, No 45, the lacking fragment of the papyrus should belong to a museum in Munich. However, recent investigation by the writer through the kind assistance of Prof. D. Wildung has brought a negative answer to the question about a possible presence of the papyrus in the town. Naville 1886, p.109 made an incorrect remark: "In Kap. 17 setzt der Papyrus (in Paris) da ein, wo der in London aufhört". In fact, a considerable fragment of the BD 17 is lacking, which corresponds to the columns 34-85 of Naville's edition. The lacking fragment should be, therefore, about 1,5 m long.



At the sale of Stanton's collection in 1894, the British Museum purchased this papyrus (= London 59) <sup>14</sup>. In 1910 another papyrus from the Cache came to the British Museum, that of Nesitanebetasheru, daughter of Pinudjem II (= London 61). The papyrus was presented by Mrs. Edith Mary Greenfield, widow of a contractor who had bought it in 1880 <sup>15</sup>. Three further BD-manuscripts enclosed in papyrus-sheaths were recovered by the Service of Antiquities on the detection of the affair; they belonged to Maatkare, daughter of Pinudjem I, and to two wives of Pinudjem II: Nesikhons and Istemkheb (= Cairo 43, 109 and 1 respectively) <sup>16</sup>.

During the examination of the mummies from the Royal Cache altogether 6 further papyri have been found: the BD-manuscripts of Pinudjem I (Cairo 111) <sup>17</sup>, two papyri of Pinudjem II (an Amduat-papyrus Cairo 114 and a deification-decree, Cairo C) <sup>18</sup>, two papyri of Djedptahiufankh (the Amduat-papyrus Cairo 83, and a deification decree, not identified in Cairo (loc. unkn. 7) <sup>19</sup>, and a deification-papyrus of Nesikhons (Cairo A).

Since the deceased in the 21st Dynasty were usually equipped with two scrolls of funerary papyri, it can be assumed that not all the manuscripts having been originally buried (or reburied) in the Royal Cache are known yet. It would have been extremely strange, for instance, if the HP Masaharti was equipped in no papyri at all. The same remark applies the mummy of Tayuheret. Their mummies, similarly like those of Nodjmet, Henuttawy and Maatkare were opened by the Arabs <sup>20</sup>. It is feasible that still up to 6 papyri from the First Cachette, of which two in the papyrus-sheaths (of Masaharti and Tayuheret) remain unknown to us, being kept in private hands.

<sup>14</sup> Published by Budge 1899.

<sup>15</sup> Budge 1912, *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> Papyri of Maatkare and Nesikhons were published by Naville 1912, *passim*. The papyrus of Istemkheb remains unpublished.

<sup>17</sup> Maspero, *op. cit.*, p.570.

<sup>18</sup> *op. cit.*, p.572.

<sup>19</sup> *op. cit.*, pp.573-574.

<sup>20</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 509-581.

## § 26.

The most important discovery of funerary papyri ever made was that of the Second Cachette in Deir el-Bahari in 1891. In the cache (the so-called Bab el-Gusus tomb) 153 coffins with mummies of the priests of the late 21st Dynasty were found, accompanied with various elements of the funerary equipment<sup>21</sup>, among others 77 Osirian statuettes, most of which being papyrus-sheaths<sup>22</sup>. The mummies unwrapped in succession, were furnishing other papyri. Until 1907 Georges Daressy together with the physical anthropologists, Dr. Fouquet and G. Elliot Smith proceeded in examining 93 mummies<sup>23</sup>. From these, 45 mummies have furnished no papyri, and on the remaining 48 mummies altogether 57 papyri have been found. According to the information recorded in the temporary inventory book of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in 1926, 54 unwrapped or only partially unwrapped mummies having originated from the Bab el-Gusus tomb, still lay in the store-rooms of the Museum<sup>24</sup>. Because of lack of any further information about these mummies it is not known, if they have furnished other papyri, and how many. The following 115 papyri from the Second Cachette are at now exhibited and stored in the Cairo Museum: Cairo pap. 5, 7-22, 30-35, 38-42, 44-46, 48-71, 73-82, 84-86, 88-99, 101-108, 110, 112, 115-129, B, D-K. Other 12 papyri: Cairo 4, 6, 23-29, 37, 72 and 113 probably originate from the same tomb. Two further papyri are on loan in the Museum in Luxor (= Luxor 1 and 2). Finally, three papyri of the same origin were sold in 1894, 1895 and 1904 to the Egyptian collections in Chicago (= Chicago 1-3)<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Daressy 1900, p.143: "Ils alternaient sans règle aucune avec les coffrets àouchabtious, des fruits, des fleurs, des statuettes funéraires échappées de caisses brisées..."

<sup>22</sup> op. cit., p.144.

<sup>23</sup> Daressy 1902b, passim; Daressy and Smith 1903, passim; Daressy 1907, pp.21-38.

<sup>24</sup> The mummies were given the temporary numbers 28.4.26.1-28.

<sup>25</sup> According to the information in the inventory books of the Field Museum, and the Oriental Institute, Chicago. There is no trace of such proceeding in the archives of the Cairo Museum. However, the official and controlled sale of selected Egyptian antiquities by the Museum that aimed at cutting off the underhand trade, was an idea of Jacques de

The great discovery in the Bab el-Gusus tomb happened in an unfavourable time, when the overcrowded Museum in Giza was attending the removal to the new building in the centre of Cairo. The immense quantity of the coffins, mummies, papyri and other objects from the Second Cachette in confrontation with the scarcity of place for them, caused many technical difficulties, and in consequence it resulted in some disorder in the arrangement of the objects and their documentation. The papyri extracted from the mummies were usually given no separate inventory numbers, each papyrus being considered a part of the same funeral ensemble as the numbered coffin, from which the mummy originated. This was an excellent idea, on the condition that the coffin and the papyrus would be exhibited together. However, after the removal and rearrangement of the Museum, papyri were grouped and exhibited in other places than with the coffins, and the fact that in many instances two papyri belonged to a funeral ensemble (the second one being hidden in the papyrus-sheath) was generally disregarded in the arrangement of the exhibition. After many years, the reconstruction of the original ensembles (i.e. of the coffin and both papyri) from the Bab el-Gusus tomb is rather a difficult task, and in some instances it is no longer possible to render all the details. An attempt for such a reconstruction is presented in the TABLE III. The Cairo papyri listed there, as well as in the list of the sources, are arranged according to the numbers of the Special Registers of the Museum's Sections IV and VII, to which they are ascribed. These are the only coherent numbers that have covered all the papyri in the Egyptian Museum <sup>26</sup>.

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Morgan, who was nominated Director of the Antiquities Service in 1892. It is possible that a number of papyri from the Bab el-Gusus tomb, especially these found in the papyrus-sheaths, were thus sold to various collections, and they are unidentified, or their location remains unknown.

<sup>26</sup> Most of the papyri from the Second Cachette have been given the Journal of Entry (J)-numbers as late as in the seventies of the present century (the numbers beginning from J. 95701); earlier only few papyri bore J-numbers, and some were included in the temporary cross-numbers inventory book. There are still some funerary manuscripts in the Museum apparently without any inventory number. Some time after the discovery of the Second Cachette an idea of cataloguing the papyri from Deir el-Bahari was conceived, and a series of numbers in the Catalogue Général (CG) have been reserved

In some publications the papyri are quoted under the numbers related to the Museum's topography (like, for example, P.5 Stairs N.3A). However, some papyri have changed their place in the exhibition, and these designations are not always actual. On the TABLE IVA-g the up-to-date information about the places of location of the exhibited papyri in the EM in Cairo has been gathered, which may be of some assistance for identification of particular manuscripts, some of them being situated in a position that precludes a close examination. The papyri not included in the topographical schemes are stored in cupboards, and their position is referred to as "P.29 bas".

# § 27.

The third archaeological finding of an important group of the funerary papyri of the period of the 21st Dynasty was made in 1924 in Deir el-Bahari by American Mission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, led by Herbert Winlock. Near the north-eastern corner of the precinct of the Hatshepsut temple, and not far away from the mouth of the Bab el-Gusus tomb, two rock caches were discovered that received the MMA-excavations' numbers 59 and 60. In the first of them (MMA Tomb 59) the coffins of Henuttawy, daughter of the HP Pinudjem I was found. In the Osirian statuette belonging to Henuttawy "...one badly decayed and moulded roll" was discovered, which "...turned out to be two sheets wrapped one within the other."<sup>27</sup> The papyrus or papyri are at present conserved in the EM in Cairo (= pap. Cairo 2 and 3). In the MMA Tomb 60 several mummies of the later 21st Dynasty were found, most of which being equipped in two papyri: the Book of the Dead in a papyrus-sheath, and the Amduat-papyrus on the mummy. Some of these have been obtained by the MMA (pap. New York 4-10). Finally, in the third tomb-cache (the MMA Tomb 65) the mummy of Herihor's daughter Nany was found by Winlock, and from this tomb the papyri New York 13-14 originate. The mummy of Nany

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for them (beginning with CG 40001). However, the catalogue has not been begun yet, although some papyri are occasionally quoted under the CG-numbers reserved for them.

<sup>27</sup> Winlock 1926, p.28.

was probably placed in the tomb on the occasion of the reburial of the daughter of Amenhotep I, Meritamun, which took place under the pontificate of the HP Masaharti. The two manuscripts of Nany can be considered, at the moment, the oldest known funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty. After the excavations of Winlock no further papyri of the period have been unearthed at Thebes.

## 2. History of interpretation of the papyri

### A - Studies and publications of the funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty in the XIXth century

#### § 28.

The earliest publication of the funerary papyrus is owed to the above-described fascination of Denon (cf. § 23 and n.2) who made a copy of the pap. Leningrad 4 and 5 and published them in 1802<sup>28</sup>, although, not being able to read or understand their contents. The first man who could estimate the sense of the papyri, Champollion, devoted to the subject relatively few sentences on describing some principal monuments in the Louvre Museum, of which he was the Keeper<sup>29</sup>. Though his descriptions were focused on identifications of the figures on papyri with the particular gods of the Egyptian pantheon, Champollion distinguished hieroglyphic and hieratic manuscripts, and regarding their contents he differentiated "extraits du grand rituel funéraire" (the 80-papyri) from the papyri comprising "scènes religieuses et tableaux symboliques". At the same time, reports of the first discoverers and collectors were appearing in Europe, that contained sometimes extremely useful information about papyri and the circumstances of their findings. As an example of these, a fragment describing a tomb of the 21st Dynasty with the coffins and the papyrus-sheaths in situ is here quoted from the book of Athanasi<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Denon 1802, pls 137-138. Another papyrus discovered during the Napoleon's Expedition was published in the form of facsimile in the Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités. Vol. V, pl. 44 (pap. Paris 37).

<sup>29</sup> Champollion 1827, pp. 144-156.

<sup>30</sup> Athanasi 1836, pp. 120-122.

"After having cleared (the wells) of the stones which they contain, the entrance to the tombs may be discovered, walled up, however, with bricks and mortar. On removing this barrier the chambers of the tombs are seen, which are built of the same materials and invariably arched at the top. The reason for thus lining the tombs with brick-work appears to be, that the rock was of very sandy quality, which could not without difficulty be hewn into a chamber of any dimensions or symmetry, unless supported by such means. In those tombs the mummies are found ranged in three rows or layers one above the other, and reaching to the roof; each layer being covered with leaves, some of which are supposed to be those of the sycamore, others of plants unknown. In the first layer are the largest mummies, enclosed in two cases one within the other, with three lids or covers, of which the third or inner one enclosing the body. The cases are painted yellow, with figures and hieroglyphics executed in relief, in green and bright blue. In the second and third layers the mummies are enclosed in one case and with two covers only. In the cases of the first layer are met with Scarabaei, engraven with hieroglyphics, and papyri with painted characters. On unrolling these mummies their faces and other parts of their bodies may easily be seen, in a more perfect state than those of any other quality of mummy, in consequence of the linens in which they are wrapped not adhering to the skin as is the case with the generality of mummies. I believe that a mummy of this kind has never yet been imported into Europe, and for this very simple reason, that the Arabs or other as soon as they find one of this particular sort, being aware that they can get a better sum for the papyri and other valuable curiosities which it contains, than they could obtain for the mummy itself, tear it to pieces for that purpose and throw the remains aside. Around the larger cases which contain these mummies we find black idols representing Osiris, in which are concealed papyri, with painted hieroglyphics in good preservation, besides wooden and stone figures in the form of the mummy to which they belong. /.../ On quitting this chamber we enter a corridor, in which are mummies arranged in the same manner as above described, and which we are obliged to push aside in order to effect a passage. Pursuing this corridor we come to other chambers branching off successively to the right and left. In a very large tomb are found as many as sixty or seventy mummies, but not all of the same size and quality. Out of the whole number perhaps ten or a dozen may be worth exploring, containing papyri, Scarabaei and other valuables; the rest being of the more ordinary quality embalmed with salt-petre or cinders. In some of the latter, however, a small scarabaeus or the representation of the Singer is sometimes met with. What is rather unaccountable about these mummies is that they are found sometimes two in the same case."

In the late thirties and the forties of the XIXth century the

first publications appeared that were devoted exclusively to papyri <sup>31</sup>. These publications were primarily catalogues of the old collections, which had been purchased by the museums. While some catalogues, like that of the papyri in the Trinity College in Dublin by Hincks, comprised only descriptions of the objects, other publications, like that of Belmore's papyri, reflected already the idea of a facsimile-edition of the manuscripts. In the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden a descriptive catalogue of Egyptian objects originating mostly from the collection of Anastasi was published in 1840 by C. Leemans <sup>32</sup>. The same author initiated a series of facsimile-publications, which covered, among others, also the 21st/22nd Dyn. papyri Leiden 11, 16 and 17 <sup>33</sup>. Besides these, some other papyri of the period were published in this way in the late XIXth century, namely 3 papyri from Cairo <sup>34</sup>, one papyrus from the National Library in Paris <sup>35</sup>, one papyrus from Turin <sup>36</sup>, and two papyri from the British Museum <sup>37</sup>. The most impressive of these publications was that of the papyrus of Sutimes (Paris, National Library). The facsimile of the manuscript was presented on 23 plates, preceded by an introduction, a translation of the whole text with commentaries, and some additional considerations concerning the Book of the Dead. The papyrus has been dated in the publication in the 19th Dynasty, but according to the dating criteria furnished by the coffin of Sutimes in the Louvre, it can be safely dated now to the early 21st Dynasty <sup>38</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Rosellini 1838; Belmore 1843; Hincks 1843.

<sup>32</sup> Leemans 1840, pp.224-258.

<sup>33</sup> id. 1887, passim; id. 1888, passim; Pleyte 1894, passim.

<sup>34</sup> Mariette 1871-1876: vol.1, pap.no.9 (= Cairo 87); vol.3, pap. nos 22 and 23 (= Cairo 36 and 47).

<sup>35</sup> Guieysse and Lefébure 1877, passim (= Paris 4).

<sup>36</sup> Lanzone 1879, passim (= pap. Turin 5).

<sup>37</sup> Budge 1899, papyri of Anhai and Nodjmet (= London 58 and 59)

<sup>38</sup> According to the information gained from an inscription on the coffin of the King Amenhotep I from the Royal Cache (Maspero 1889a, p.537), son of a certain Sutimes in the year 16 (of Smendes) under the pontificate of the HP Masaharti celebrated the reburial of Amenhotep I. It is very probable that this Sutimes was in fact the same person as the owner of the papyrus Paris 4.

Several funerary papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. were published in the late XIXth century in form of descriptions and drawings. These are: pap. Paris 1 (of Seramon)<sup>39</sup>, pap. Turin 10<sup>40</sup>, pap. Milan<sup>41</sup>, and pap. London 28<sup>42</sup>. Drawings of some papyri served as illustrations in the most important iconographic publication of those days, Dizionario di mitologia egizia by Ridolfo Lanzone<sup>43</sup>.

§ 29.

All the above-listed works were only publications of the individual manuscripts, without any attempt at the classification of this rich and diverse material. Studies on this subject were for the first time undertaken by Théodule Devéria, the assistant conservator of the Egyptian Department in the Museum of Louvre, and they took about 10 years between 1861 - 1871, i.e. till Devéria's death. His work<sup>44</sup> was edited by his successor in Louvre, Paul Pierret in 1874. To Devéria is due the first important classification of the funerary papyri, that is practically still used in Egyptological works. He divided all the manuscripts in the Louvre into three categories: I - "compositions mythologiques", with which term he designated all the papyri with the prevailing use of figural compositions; II - "le Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur", or Amduat-papyri; and III - "Livre de Sortir du Jour", or the Book of the Dead. Devéria's study intended to cover a wide spectrum of problems, and in the introductory remarks he attempted a manifold interpretation of the particular categories of papyri. However, his premature death prevented Devéria's work from being illustrated, and his general ideas from being developed in detail, and supplemented by chronological observations. Yet it was long the starting point for any further research on papyri of the period of 11th-10th centuries B.C.

<sup>39</sup> Ledrain 1870, passim. Seramon, according to the same stylistic criteria represented on his coffins in Besançon, was also living in the early 21st Dynasty.

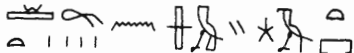
<sup>40</sup> Rossi 1878, passim.

<sup>41</sup> Levi 1884, pp.566-583, pl. II.

<sup>42</sup> Mengedoht 1893, passim.

<sup>43</sup> Lanzone 1882, pls.71, 72, 157, 159, 163, 234, 245, 251-257, 267.



Devéria's notion of distinguishing a separate category of the funerary papyri: "compositions mythologique" was a stimulus for scholars to take these so far neglected manuscripts into consideration. A. Wiedemann was the first who used this type of papyri (and especially the pap. Paris 9) as source of information about some Egyptian religious ideas<sup>45</sup>. After him E. Chassinat began profound research into the pictorial funerary papyri, an imposing series of which had been furnished by the discovery of the Bab el-Gusus tomb in 1891. The work by Chassinat was entitled Étude sur quelques textes funéraires de provenance Thébaine<sup>46</sup>. When beginning the study with the papyrus Paris 36, the author intended to publish a number of articles on the papyri<sup>47</sup>. Unfortunately, unknown reasons caused the failure of these plans<sup>48</sup>. Chassinat was the first who drew attention to the original title  given to some papyri of the kind corresponding to Devéria's "compositions mythologiques". He has supposed that an independent old theological work lay at the origin of these pictorial papyri, which he named "small Amduat" in contrast to the "Great Amduat" from the royal tombs. He also attempted an explana-

<sup>44</sup> Devéria 1874, passim.

<sup>45</sup> Wiedemann 1878, pp.102-103; id. 1900, passim. He wrote on p. 155: "A close treatment of these mostly short texts has not yet been undertaken, though they possess a great interest as to the development of the Egyptian religion, and especially of the conception of the Other World's topography and the demons living there."

<sup>46</sup> Chassinat 1903, passim.

<sup>47</sup> op. cit., p.135: "J'ai choisi, pour commencer la suite d'études que je compte consacrer aux diverses formes du petit Am-dait et aux textes religieux qui s'y rattachent, le papyrus no 3287 du Louvre."

<sup>48</sup> Chassinat intended, as well, to undertake the complete edition of the funerary manuscripts of the 21st Dynasty in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: "J'espère publier bientôt ces derniers dans le Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, à la suite des cercueils des prêtres d'Amon." (op. cit., p.130, n.2). Unfortunately, neither papyri nor coffins have been published within the CG, except for few coffins, edited in the first fascicle of the planned work (Chassinat 1909, passim).

tion of the fact of the occurrence of "both Amduats" on the papyri of the 21st Dynasty <sup>49</sup>, as well as pointed to the similarity of some papyri with the decoration of the coffins of the period <sup>50</sup>. It was also Chassinat's merit that for the first time a comparative study of several similar manuscripts has been attempted, and particular figures from the presented papyrus (Louvre 3287) were given rich commentary <sup>51</sup>.

#### B - The development of the research into the papyri in the XXth century

##### § 30.

Except for the 12 papyri discovered by the MMA-expedition in Deir el-Bahari (cf. § 27 above), all the remaining funerary manuscripts, which are listed in Part Two of the present work, were already in the possession of museums and private collectors at the beginning of this century; however only few of them were published. Their edition was, therefore, the important task of Egyptology, the more so that some general guide lines for such publications had been furnished before by Naville for the Book of the Dead <sup>52</sup>, by Jéquier for the royal Amduat <sup>53</sup>, and by Devéria and Chassinat for the pictorial papyri <sup>54</sup>. The series of the important works on the manuscripts of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. published after 1903, was begun by Budge with the publication of the 80-papyrus of Nesitanebetasheru from the Royal Cache <sup>55</sup>. At the same time two

<sup>49</sup> Chassinat 1903, p.132: "...par une de ces anomalies fréquentes chez les Égyptiens, les deux ouvrages ont été employés conjointement."

<sup>50</sup> op. cit., p.133: "Bon nombre de leurs cercueils sont décorés en outre de représentations tirées du Livre des morts et du petit Am-dait; ce n'est que par exception seulement que le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès est mis à contribution dans cet emploi, et j'ai cru remarquer que c'était uniquement au profit de quelques prêtres de haut rang."

<sup>51</sup> Evidently, only first part of the article has ever been published, in spite of the announcement: "sera continué" at the end of it (op. cit., p.163).

<sup>52</sup> Naville 1886, passim; also Guieysse and Lefébure 1877, passim.

<sup>53</sup> Jéquier 1894, passim; also the facsimile editions by Mariette 1871-1876, vol. 1 (pap. no. 9), Lanzzone 1879; Leemans 1887; id. 1888; and Pleyte 1894.

other BD-papyri from the same Cachette were published by Naville<sup>56</sup>, who shortly afterwards made known to science a long hieratic BD-papyrus from the Bab el-Gusus tomb<sup>57</sup>. All these four papyri belonged to the members of the family of the High priests of Amun in Thebes. In 1917 and 1918 Blackman published two papyri from the Bodleian Library in Oxford<sup>58</sup>. His articles, comprising complete photographic illustration of the papyri and much commentary, belong to the best works of this kind. In 1927 some non-illustrated hieratic papyri originated from the First and Second Cachette in Deir el-Bahari were published by Golénischeff within the CG Cairo<sup>59</sup>.

In 1929 the first doctoral thesis about a papyrus of the 21st Dynasty appeared, defended at the University of Neuchâtel by G. Nagel<sup>60</sup>. The object of this study was the pap. Louvre 3292 (= Paris 38), belonging to the category called by Devéria "compositions mythologiques" and by Chassinat "le petit Am-dait". Nagel avoided both these names, and he pointed to the relations of the papyri of the type under discussion with the old "canonical compositions": the Book of the Dead and the Amduat, the titles of both of which are found on the papyri of the period<sup>61</sup>. Among these manuscripts he distinguished 5 groups, but he failed to make any detailed characterization of them, being concentrated on one particular papyrus.

<sup>54</sup> Devéria 1874, pp. 1-15; Chassinat 1903, passim.

<sup>55</sup> The so-called Greenfield Papyrus (= pap. London 61); cf. Budge 1912, passim.

<sup>56</sup> Naville 1912, passim (= pap. Cairo 43 and 109).

<sup>57</sup> Naville 1914, passim (= pap. Cairo 32).

<sup>58</sup> Blackman 1917, passim; id. 1918, passim (= pap. Oxford 2 and 3).

<sup>59</sup> Golénischeff 1927, pp. 1-23, 99-113, 169-209; pls. I-IV, XXII-XXIII, XXX-XXXIV (= pap. Cairo A - K).

<sup>60</sup> Nagel 1929, passim.

<sup>61</sup> op. cit., p.3: "Ces deux titres, qui sont ceux des Livres des Morts et de l'Am-Douat, nous indiquent clairement que pour les Egyptiens ces papyrus avaient quelques rapports avec eux. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait eu opposition entre ces textes et les textes canoniques /.../. Je considérerais plutôt ces papyrus comme une mode passagère, les textes canoniques paraissaient trop ordinaires, et peut-être aussi trop incompréhensibles. Une suite de vignettes pouvait exposer d'une façon plus simple et plus claire les

This was examined very carefully, with illustrations and much commentary. The texts from the papyrus were translated and given philological comments. Nagel's approach to the understanding of the funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty seem to be superior to that of most scholars who have ever worked on them, and it can be paralleled only by a few works of later date <sup>62</sup>.

The "pictorial" funerary papyri were the object of an increasing interest of scholars. A few years after Nagel's dissertation two publications by Piankoff, concerning such manuscripts appeared in the new journal Egyptian Religion <sup>63</sup>, and another article written by Schott was printed in the ZAS in 1938 <sup>64</sup>. In the period of World War Two only one publication was printed, to my knowledge, that concerned the funerary papyrus Vienna 1 <sup>65</sup>. The great collection of the papyri in Cairo, the contents of which was hardly familiar to scholars, became object of independent investigation by Piankoff and Schott in the post-war years. The last-mentioned scholar gathered in Egypt a very ample photographic documentation, a part of which was devoted to the Cairo funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty. However, only one photo has so far been published <sup>66</sup>. With the name of Alexandre Piankoff the best known publications of the funerary papyri of the period have been strongly connected. He began the publishing work in 1949 with two papyri of Herytuben, granddaughter of the HP Menkheperre, in the ASAE <sup>67</sup>. Several years later he republished these, together with 28 other papyri from Cairo, Florence, Luxor, New

mêmes vérités que les longs chapitres du Livre des Morts que les scribes copiaient sans les comprendre."

<sup>62</sup> In the first place should be mentioned the publications by Andrzejewski 1959, passim, and Köhler 1972, passim.

<sup>63</sup> Piankoff 1935, passim (pap. Paris 9); id. 1936, passim (pap. Paris 39).

<sup>64</sup> Schott 1938, passim (pap. Berlin 24).

<sup>65</sup> Demel 1944, passim.

<sup>66</sup> Schott 1965, pl. 2 (fragment of the papyrus Cairo 121). As Prof. Schott was not able to identify the photographed papyri with the inventory numbers of the Cairo Museum (these were practically non-existing in those days), he has designated the papyri with the small letters, sometimes doubled (for example: pap. "h", pap. "aa", pap. "dd", etc). The photos after having been kept in home of prof. Schott in Göttingen, became in 1984 the property of the University

York, Paris, Turin and Vienna in a two volume edition in the Bollingen Series, under the title Mythological Papyri<sup>68</sup>. Herewith, Piankoff returned to the old term of *Devéria* that had been avoided by earlier scholars, or used only with reservation.

"The funerary papyri we present here belong neither to the Book of the Dead, the Book of Am-Duat, nor to any later composition..."

- he wrote<sup>69</sup>, and this sentence points to a quite different way of the interpreting of the papyri, than that proposed by Nagel<sup>70</sup>. Within the category of "mythological papyri" Piankoff distinguished three groups:<sup>71</sup>

"the Mythological Papyri proper, the papyri of the Am-Duat type, i.e. those which have certain features of the Book of What is in the Netherworld, and which are encountered in the tombs and on papyri, but combined with quite different representations and texts; and the Aker papyri, which reproduce fragments from a composition that has not been preserved and to which we have given the name Book of Aker."

This classification is accompanied with, unfortunately, little argumentation, and no stress has been laid on the original Egyptian titles of the papyri, nor on the dating criteria. The translated texts and the described scenes are only seldom commented. Of the introductory part of the book, the chapter on the religious symbolism by N. Rambova seems to present the most valuable part of the work. The all-important part of the publication is the second volume comprising 30 folded plates, which give the best idea of each papyrus in its whole integrity. In this one volume as many papyri have been published<sup>72</sup>

in Trier. With the permission of Mrs. E. Schott and of Prof. E. Winter, Trier, some photos of the unpublished papyri are illustrating the present work.

<sup>67</sup> Piankoff 1949, passim (= pap. Cairo 89 and 91).

<sup>68</sup> Piankoff and Rambova 1957, passim.

<sup>69</sup> op. cit., p.20.

<sup>70</sup> cf. note 61 above.

<sup>71</sup> Piankoff, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>72</sup> These are the papyri: Cairo 10, 12, 28, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77, 89, 91, 92, 95, 96, 107, 115, 118, 123, 128; pap. Florence; pap. Luxor 2; pap. New York 8, 9, 10, 33; pap. Paris 6, 11, 41, 50; pap. Turin 10; pap. Vienna 1.

as in all the individual publications before, which is the unquestionable merit of Piankoff's work. Several years later the same author edited another group of 8 pictorial papyri of the 21st Dynasty, containing characteristic series of the iconographic forms of the solar transformations of the Great God, and therefore closely connected to the Litany of the Sun<sup>73</sup>. Finally, after Piankoff's death (in 1966) some papyri, mostly of the New Kingdom, containing the BD-chapter 168 have been published in one of his posthumously edited works<sup>74</sup>.

In the same year as the main publication of Piankoff and Rambova (Mythological Papyri), four Leningrad papyri were published by Evgenova (Leningrad 4-7)<sup>75</sup>, and soon afterwards Andrzejewski's publication of the Warsaw "mythological" papyrus appeared<sup>76</sup>. The last-mentioned work belongs among the best and most complete studies of a single funerary manuscript. Each figure on the papyrus and every fragment of the hieroglyphic legend has been thoroughly examined, and a number of general conclusive remarks accompanied this analytical part. This was first critical publication of the papyrus belonging to the type of the "Litany of the Sun", and was undoubtedly superior to the subsequent publication of Piankoff, consisting exclusively of descriptions<sup>77</sup>. The next pictorial papyrus consisting of a series of figures (though of different kind than those on the Litany of Re - manuscripts) that became object of an analytical study was pap. Berlin 3127 (= Berlin 18). It was first edited by Morenz<sup>78</sup>, and afterwards thoroughly examined by Köhler<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Piankoff 1964a, pp. 63-182. The following papyri are published there: Cairo 34, 42, 62 and 122; London 28 and 32; New York 14; Paris 8.

<sup>74</sup> Piankoff 1974, p. 41ff; among others the papyri Berlin 4 and London 31 were published in this book.

<sup>75</sup> Evgenova 1957, passim. This good article was published in Russian in a non-Egyptological periodical, which remained, unfortunately little known among foreign scholars.

<sup>76</sup> Andrzejewski 1959, passim.

<sup>77</sup> cf. the note 73 above.

<sup>78</sup> Morenz 1964, passim.

<sup>79</sup> Köhler 1972, passim.

## § 31.

The latter publication of 1972 was the first comparative study of a number of the funerary pictorial papyri of the same homogenous character. The following quotation from this study<sup>80</sup>:

"Der hier vorliegende Artikel soll hauptsächlich als Anregung zu weitergehenden Untersuchungen dienen. Sie erscheinen für die große Menge der Totenpapyri dringend notwendig, da sich die Mehrzahl der bisherigen Veröffentlichungen in einer Beschreibung des Dargestellten erschöpft, ohne den Versuch zu unternehmen, einen möglichen Gesamtzusammenhang herauszuarbeiten."

— is still pertinent and it could also well be used as the motto to the present work.

Only one group of papyri has been the object of an analytical study in the recent years: the so-called Amduat-papyri. After some texts of one such papyrus had been published in 1967 by Hornung<sup>81</sup>, papyri of this kind from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo were studied by Abdelhamid Youssef<sup>82</sup> and Sadek<sup>83</sup>. In the last-mentioned work altogether 33 papyri have been published<sup>84</sup>. Since in various publications of the Cairo papyri different numbering systems have been used, the concordance between all these and the system adapted in the present work is given in TABLE V.

Other publications of the last two decades are limited mostly to the descriptions or illustrations of papyri being presented in form of museum catalogues<sup>85</sup>, or to some mentions of the papyri being used as source material for some particular studies<sup>86</sup>. The value of modern photographic

<sup>80</sup> op. cit., p.58.

<sup>81</sup> Hornung 1967, pls. 5-10 (= pap. Berlin 1).

<sup>82</sup> Abdelhamid Youssef 1982, passim (= pap. Cairo 5, fragment).

<sup>83</sup> Sadek 1985, passim.

<sup>84</sup> These are Cairo papyri 6, 7, 13, 15, 17, 23, 29, 31-52, 57, 58, 63, 64, 66, 70, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 87, 93, 94, 97, 101, 102, 103, 114, 120.

<sup>85</sup> The following catalogue-publications should be mentioned: Monnet-Saleh 1970 (pap. Zagreb 1-4); Wenig and Raumschüssel 1977 (pap. Dresden 1-2); Romano 1979 (pap. Luxor 1-2); Lipińska 1982 (pap. Havana); Saleh and Sourobian 1986 (pap. Cairo 17 and 111).

<sup>86</sup> For example, a number of papyri of the 21st and 22nd Dyn. are quoted by Seeber in her important and valuable work

technique has been demonstrated in the magnificent facsimile-publication of the papyrus of Tayuheret in Leiden by Heerma van Voss<sup>87</sup>, unfortunately with very scarce commentary. To the same author we owe the publications of the 21st-22nd Dynasty papyri in Haag, Cleveland and Houston<sup>88</sup>, as well as the chronologically latest attempt at the classification of the funerary papyri of the period<sup>89</sup>. The short scheme published by Heerma van Voss consists of three main groups of funerary texts, called by him: A - "Mythologische Papyri"; B - "Totenbuch"; C - "Jenseitsbücher". Each of these categories is influenced by the two others and at the same time it exerts on them its own influence. The last statement is an original approach to the problem, while the classification into three groups is, practically, a repetition of the old proposal of Devéria. During the 4th International Congress of Egyptology in Munich in 1985 the present writer read a paper containing a new proposition for the dividing of the funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty<sup>90</sup>. It was then stressed that, at any attempt of the classification, the following problems should be taken into consideration:

1. History, form and contents of the Book of the Dead of the period;
2. History, form and contents of the Books of the Underworld;
3. Use of the ancient names of the papyri: md<sup>3</sup>t imy p<sup>3</sup>t and pry m hrw;
4. Relation between the text and illustration (picture) in the on the iconography of the Judgement of the Dead; cf. Seeber 1976, pp. 203-204, 210-213. Three papyri are dated by her to the Ramesside period, although they belong to the 21st Dynasty: Cairo 86 (of Userhatmes), Paris 4 (of Sutesmes), and Vienna 2 (of Paynefernefer).

<sup>87</sup> Pap. Leiden 1 and 1bis; Heerma van Voss 1971, passim.

<sup>88</sup> Pap. Haag: Heerma van Voss 1974a, passim; pap. Cleveland 2: id., 1982a, pp. 7-8, pls. 1-3; pap. Houston: id. 1982b, passim.

<sup>89</sup> Heerma van Voss 1976, passim.

<sup>90</sup> Niwiński's forthcoming article Religiöse illustrierte Papyri der 21. Dynastie. Ein Vorschlag der Typologie und Datierung, in SAK, passim.



papyri of the period, and

5. - last but not least - our habit to use the designation "mythological papyri". In conclusion, three various and chronologically differentiated "generations" of "mythological papyri" have been distinguished.

However, it seems to me today that the further use of the denotation "mythological papyri", even relativised in this way, means nothing else than a concession made to modern Egyptological habit; at the same time it contradicts the ancient idea, according to which only two, and not three, categories of funerary papyri existed: md't imy D't - papyri and pry m hrw - papyri. Thus, each of the pictorial versions of the funerary manuscripts must have - in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians - belonged either to the first or to the second group. It is, therefore, my strong conviction that, notwithstanding long traditional use, the term "mythological papyri" should be given up, being deceptive in all respects.

The repeated use of this very imperfect term is not the unique difficulty to be overcome in present and future studies of the manuscripts of the 11th-10th century B.C. In spite of the considerable number of publications on the funerary papyri, most of the manuscripts of the 21st-22nd Dyn. remain still unpublished. On the other hand, a number of the papyri of the period that are published or mentioned in various works are not dated properly<sup>91</sup>. The exact provenance of most papyri kept in particular collections is declared to be unknown. The fact that the so important publication as the Topographical Bibliography... by Porter and Moss does not regard papyri at all, constitutes a disadvantage to our research, too. Further, the fact that two various papyri sometimes belonged originally to one funerary ensemble, is, unfortunately, as a rule disregarded in the museal arrangements, the papyri being usually

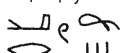
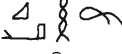
<sup>91</sup> For example Naville 1886, pp.48ff dates the following 21st Dyn. papyri into the Ramesside period: Af (London 31), Ak (London 3), Ar (London 9), Bd (Berlin 4), Ii (Turin 1), Lc (Leiden 2), Ld (Leiden 3), Pd (Paris 4), Pi (Paris 2), Pn (Paris 3). As to other examples of similarly mistaken dating, cf. Bissing 1928; Bruyère 1939; Zink 1965; Forman and Kischkewitz 1971, pl. 45; Munro 1988. Cf. also the note 86 above.

exhibited or stored separately from the coffin together with which they were discovered. Therefore, the original archaeological context, even a well known and documented one, can easily be lost. Needless to say, in case of most papyri originated from the great collections of the early XIXth century, the reconstruction of the context is impossible at all, since the funerary ensembles then discovered were subsequently dispersed among different owners, without any documentation of the finding. The papyri found by the natives were often cut into several fragments, each of them being then separately sold. The actual difficulty in the dating of many particular manuscripts is the consequence of all those methodological errors and omissions usually being committed still in the XIXth century, when most of the papyri known to us were found.

Chapter III. Observations on the technique of the execution of the papyri, and on the formal elements of their decoration

1. production of the papyri-scrolls, and their dimensions  
§ 32.

The technical aspects of the production of papyrus as a writing material, as well as the methods of making "books" in Ancient Egypt have often been discussed<sup>1</sup>, and there is no need to resume here the topic in its whole complexity. The following remarks will be limited only to the observations concerning the funerary papyri of the 11th-10th century B.C.

It can be assumed that in the 21st Dynasty, similarly to the custom of the Ramesside period, the papyrus (writing material) was manufactured in rolls  consisting of 20 sheets  each. The average width of one sheet was about 21-22 cm<sup>2</sup>. The maximum height of the sheets (and, respectively, the rolls) was 48 cm<sup>3</sup>, however it measured usu-

<sup>1</sup> The oldest contribution to the study on the technical problems of the papyri was written by Borchardt in 1889 (cf. Borchardt 1889, passim). The most useful concise presentation of the subject was done in 1952 in the work Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt (Černý 1952/1977, passim). Two doctoral dissertations were devoted to the problem in 1969 and 1985 (respectively: M. Weber, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift- und Buchwesens der alten Ägypter; Diss. Köln, and T. Nielsen, Papyrus, structure, manufacture and deterioration; Diss. Copenhagen). In 1984 a special colloquium on the structure and use of papyrus was held in the British Museum, and the papers read there were published in 1986 (M. L. Bierbrier, ed., Papyrus: Structure and Usage. = Occasional Paper BM No 60; a good bibliography on papyrus-making is included there).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nagel 1929, p.4 (the measurements taken from the 8D-papyrus Paris 38). Similar data have recently been obtained from the Amduat-papyri Cairo 29 (sheets of 20-23 cm in width), cf. Sadek 1985, p.88, and Cairo 31 (sheets of 21-22,5 cm), cf. op. cit., p.145. The last-mentioned papyrus belonged to Merytamun, daughter of the HP Menkheperre.

<sup>3</sup> The highest rolls of the funerary papyri of the 21st-22nd Dyn. are: Leiden 12 (an Amduat-papyrus) of 48 cm, and London 61 (a 8D-papyrus of Nesitanebetasheru, daughter of Pinudjem II), of 47 cm. The papyri Cairo 36 (of Henuttawy, wife of the HP Pinudjem I) and London 5 have 45,5 cm in height each.

ally between 40 and 45 cm. This full size is very seldom encountered among the funerary papyri. The analysis of the height of particular manuscripts in the group of 374 papyri of the period, the measurement of which was possible, has brought the following results:

less than 15 cm in height:	23 papyri = 6,1%
between 15-19 cm - " - :	29 - " - = 7,8%
- " - 20-21 cm - " - :	30 - " - = 8,0%
- " - 22-23 cm - " - :	104 - " - = 27,8%
- " - 24-25 cm - " - :	111 - " - = 29,7%
- " - 25-30 cm - " - :	21 - " - = 5,6%
- " - 30-40 cm - " - :	40 - " - = 10,7%
more than 40 cm - " - :	16 - " - = 4,3%
	<hr/>
	374 = 100,0%

Thus the great majority of the papyri (65,5%) are between 20 and 25 cm high, which seems to have been obtained by halving the full height of the scrolls. The very low rolls of the first group registered above might have resulted from quartering of such full-size papyri. The remaining papyri of the height of 25-40 cm seem, however, to testify to an existence of another standard full size of the scrolls in those days, similar to that of the papyri of the Middle Kingdom<sup>4</sup>; the papyri of the second group (about 15-19 cm in height) would then represent the halved rolls of this lower full standard size. In conclusion, it is fair to say that most of the funerary papyri of the 11th-10th cent. B.C. were made from halved rolls which is different observation from that concerning the size of the 80-papyri of the New Kingdom, when in most cases full rolls were used. Perhaps this difference may be explained by the fact that funerary papyri, which in the New Kingdom had been product of luxury, in the 21st Dynasty became a very common element of the tomb equipment, accessible to a proportionally greater group of the Theban society. At the same time, in general the economic situation of this society worsened, and the papyrus was presumably not less expensive than before. In consequence, only very limited number of Theban

<sup>4</sup> Černý, op. cit., p.13.

officials were in a position to procure themselves full-sized funerary papyri. On the other hand, the smaller papyri must not necessarily have been indicative of a lower social status of their possessors. The papyrus Cairo 105, for instance, that belonged to Ankhefenmut, the son of the HP Menkheperre, is only 19 cm high, and 1,17 m long.

It has already been stated (cf. § 12. above) that also, in general, the length of the 21st Dynasty papyri compared with that of the New Kingdom manuscripts was much smaller<sup>5</sup>. An analysis of 326 papyri, the calculation of the full length of which was possible, gives the following data:




less than 0,5 m in length	:	30 papyri	=	9,2%
between 0,5-1 m	- " -	:	66 papyri	= 20,3%
- " - 1-1,5 m	- " -	:	87 - " -	= 26,7%
- " - 1,5-2 m	- " -	:	41 - " -	= 12,6%
- " - 2-3 m	- " -	:	49 - " -	= 15,0%
- " - 3-5 m	- " -	:	34 - " -	= 10,4%
- " - 5-10 m	- " -	:	14 - " -	= 4,3%
more than 10 m	- " -	:	5 - " -	= 1,5%
		326	=	100,0%

Thus the majority of the papyri (68,8%) do not exceed the length of 2 m, and this was, at most, half of the length of a full roll furnished by the manufacture. The scrolls of full size were thus often divided into four or even eight parts, each one being subsequently used as separate tomb papyrus, while the opposite process consisting of joining of two or more full rolls is extremely seldom encountered among the funerary papyri of the period.


The state of the economy meant sometimes that older papyri or their fragments were reused for funerary manuscripts. An instance of this is the papyrus London 11 (Pl. 4b). The portion of the papyrus to the left of the large etiquette, had previously contained a secular text (accounts of some kind). This was erased in order that a religious text, probably a fragment of the Book of the Dead might be substituted here.

<sup>5</sup> However, few distinct exceptions existed, among others the Book of the Dead of Nesitanebetasheru (the so-called Greenfield Papyrus, London 61) that with its length of 40,54 m is the longest funerary papyrus known.

Sometimes the papyri give evidence that sheets of different height were directly joined together, which might hardly had place in the papyrus manufacture. The papyrus Paris 11 is an example of such "home-made" funerary manuscripts.

Only the recto of the papyri, i.e. the surface with the fibres running horizontally, was supposed to be used for texts and illustrations, and this side of the papyrus roll was smoothed, and sometimes even additionally covered with a thin layer of whitewash, as was the case with the papyrus Leiden 1. However, some instances of using the verso of the papyrus as an additional surface are well documented, too (these are the papyri Leiden 1 bis, London 41 and Paris 44). The ready funerary papyrus was rolled with the recto inside, and the verso outside the scroll. Usually the right hand end contained the beginning of the manuscript. Its edge was sometimes strengthened by a narrow strip of papyrus of about 5-9 cm in width, stuck vertically on the end, which has been observed in the papyri Berlin 3, 4 and 10<sup>6</sup>. Along the edge of papyrus on its verso title of the religious composition which in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians the papyrus contained, was often written (cf. also § 39 below). In one instance the title is found on the left end instead of the right one; this papyrus (Cairo 94) was probably rolled in atypical way. On some manuscripts on their verso, information about which end of the scroll is the top one, are met, in form of the hieroglyphic signs: , , or  (Pl.2a). These have been found on the papyri: Berlin 8 and 10, Cairo 7, 36, 55, 60, 66 and 127, Chicago 1, London 3. Since the papyrus Cairo 36 belonged to the wife of the HP Pinudjem I, Henuttawy, of the early 21st Dynasty, and the pap. Cairo 55 originated from the late 21st Dynasty (on the mummy of its owner mummy-braces with the name of the HP Psusennes were found), the presence alone of the sign of this type seems not to possess any specific value for dating of the papyri. In the papyrus of Maatkare, daughter of the HP Pinudjem I (pap. Cairo 43), above the upper bordering line, another piece of information appears, written on the margin of the papyrus:

<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, op. cit., p.119.

 by "the left side". Since the papyrus was found in a statuette of Osiris, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of this direction <sup>7</sup>.

## 2. Frame and dividing lines as the structural elements of the compositioning of the papyrus surface

### A - The frame, or border ornament

#### § 33.

After having decided on the final size of a funerary papyrus, the artist started on the most important part of the work. Knowing which texts and scenes he should transfer from the model-papyri, he was to arrange them on the surface of the manuscript. The freedom of the artistic choice depended on different factors: the client's position in the society, and his demands, the range of the patterns at the disposal of the workshop, the artist's own ability and creative invention, but above all the character of the funerary papyrus to be made. For some types of the compositions on papyrus fixed schemes of the arrangement existed, and the artist's personal formal inclinations must have remained indifferent in copying them. Such were, for instance, the papyri, which followed the traditional pattern of the royal Amduat, or the hieratic BD-papyri consisting of the etiquette and text composed in "pages" (cf. § 42. below). Thus, it seems that in comparison with the coffins' decoration of the same period <sup>8</sup>, the part played by the artists was, in general, much more limited. However, it was the artist who decided on some details, through which some papyri are easily recognizable. To them belong the form of the border ornament.

A well-composed papyrus was never decorated on its whole surface, from one edge to another <sup>9</sup>. Usually on both ends of the papyrus, as well as at the top and the bottom of it a blank margin was left, this played at the same time a protective role to the decorated part in the middle against any da-

<sup>7</sup> Naville 1912, pl.II.

<sup>8</sup> Miwiński 1988, § 54.

<sup>9</sup> However, few examples of bad arrangement are known; the text accompanying the etiquette of the pap. Cairo 112 fill the

mage, to which mostly the edges of the papyrus are exposed. The whole space to be covered with texts and scenes was usually delimited from above and from below by one or several parallel horizontal lines. Sometimes the same bordering lines appear, as well, to the left and to the right of the decorated part, which then makes a regular complete frame around it. If the border ornament appears on three sides of the papyrus, one can name it an incomplete frame. The thin space between the parallel border lines was sometimes filled with colour, which gives the impression of bordering ornamental band; the band may also be doubled or even triple one and each part of it filled with different paint.

The double coloured frames are most characteristic of all the kinds of the border ornaments used in the 21st Dyn. papyri. This type of the bordering bands recalls very much that of the Ramesside Book of the Dead-papyri (cf. the pap. BM 9901 of Hunefer, TABLE IIc; similarly, for example, the pap. BM 9949 of Charui, the pap. BM 10470 of Ani, and the pap. BM 10478; the tradition goes back to the middle 18th Dynasty, as the pap. of Kha in Turin proves). In the Ramesside papyri the most typical colours of the framing bands were red and yellow. In the 21st Dyn. the same colours are found in the papyri Cairo 46, London 5, London 58 and New York 13, while other pairs of coloured bands appear in the papyri: London 35 (orange and yellow), Berlin 4 (yellow and green), London 26 (red and black). Often only one band of the double frame was painted, the second one being left blank. The most typical colour used in such frames was red (pap. Cairo 18, 115, Leiden 3, London 21, 28 and 29), but other paints are encountered too: yellow (Cairo 36) and black (Cairo 71 and London 25). Finally, double frames without any paint also appear (pap. Berlin 18, Cairo 42, 47 and 120, London 4). Among the papyri enclosed within full ornamental frames there is a characteristic group repeating the same iconographic motives (cf. Pl. 41 a-b) <sup>10</sup>. All these papyri


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whole height of the papyrus, leaving no room for the smallest margin.

<sup>10</sup>. This type of papyri was object of the studies of Chassinat 1903, *passim*, and of Köhler 1972, *passim*.



originate probably from the same Theban workshop, and they should be ascribed to the same period of the late 21st Dynasty (cf. § 59 below). Now, the papyri Cairo 25 and London 26 from this group have double two-colours frame; the papyri Cairo 18, 75, London 29 and Turin 2 are bordered with double frame, only half of which (one band) was coloured, the second band being blank; the papyrus Berlin 18 is ornamented with a double frame without any paint; the pap. Paris 36 is bordered only with double parallel line without colour, and the bordering of the pap. Berlin 19 is limited to a single line below the figures, a similar line on the right end, and a simple coloured band above the decorated area. Thus, although attractive, the above mentioned variety among the colours used for the bordering frames does not seem to reflect chronological differences; it testifies rather to the different taste of individual artists.

This conclusion can be well applied, as it appears, to other kinds of the border ornamentation. The full and incomplete frame was used less frequently than the border parallel lines limiting the decorated surface at its top and bottom only. Such lines are differently arranged. The simplest kind of this bordering consists of a single line above, and a single line below the scenes and texts. Sometimes such a single line is replaced with double parallel lines which appear only below (as a counterpart of the single line above), or only above (and paralleled with a single line below), or else both above and below the decoration. Instead of a double line a triple one is occasionally found too. Such double or triple lines are often filled with paint, which recalls the coloured frames. The paints used for this purpose were various: blue (for example papyri Berlin 17, Berlin 26, Cairo 16, London 6, Turin 9), green (pap. Warsaw), yellow (pap. London 32), yellow and pink (pap. Cairo 90), or red (for example, pap. Cairo 68, Cairo 104, London 58). Sometimes the border ornament above the decorated area was shaped in form of the sky-symbol  (for example, pap. London 58), and in one papyrus belonging to Tjanefer, a son of the HP Menkheperre (pap. Cairo 81), the sky ornament is additionally filled with motives of stars. A similar ornament appears, to my knowledge, only on the BD-papyrus

of Amenhotep (BM 10489) of the early 18th Dyn.

Sometimes the coloured border ornament accompanies only the beginning of the papyrus, near the etiquette. A good example is furnished by the papyrus Leiden 1. The introductory part of this Book of the Dead made for a lady Tayuheret is painted with bright colours: white, yellow, red, green, and black, and the decoration (the etiquette) is bordered at the top and the bottom by a double band of ornament, the interior one being yellow, the exterior one red. After only about 30 cm the yellow paint disappears, and after another 20 cm the red colour vanishes as well. The remaining part of the border ornament consists of the triple parallel line without any paint. We are faced here, probably, with the same phenomenon (mentioned in the § 12. above) which occurred already in the 18th Dynasty, as the papyrus of Kha in Turin proves: only the beginning of the funerary papyrus might have sometimes been unrolled in front of the client to suggest him high quality and a high degree of elaboration of the work, for which a better payment could have been expected.

#### B - The dividing lines within the decorated area § 34.

The bordering lines below and above the surface intended for the texts and pictorial representations were first draughted on the papyrus. Within these limits, by means of vertical and horizontal lines, the artist divided the surface according to a plan he possessed before any hieroglyph or vignette was painted. During the studies on the coffins of the same period it has been observed that this stage of the craftsmen's work was decisive for the final shape of the decoration, because in the arrangement of the dividing lines, all the individual formal inclinations or preferences for more vertical or more horizontal composition were expressed, which reflected a mode or general artistic trends of a concrete period. In consequence, the dating of the coffins has been partly based on the formal typology of the coffins' decoration <sup>11</sup>. The situation with the papyri seems, however, to be quite different, since the artists

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<sup>11</sup> Niwiński, op. cit., passim.

were strongly bound to some traditional forms of the funerary compositions like the Book of the Dead or Amduat, and their private preferences to verticality or horizontality could not always be expressed, being subdued to the general schemes. For the hieroglyphic texts, for instance, vertical columns were traditionally used, each of them being separated from another with vertical line. This kind of the dividing lines is present both in the papyri of the early 21st Dynasty (for example, pap. New York 13 belonging to Nany, a daughter of the HP Herihor) and in the manuscripts of the 22nd Dynasty (for example, pap. Leiden 17 belonging to Djedmontu, on whose mummy inscriptions with the name of the King Osorkon I have been found). Again, the pattern of the royal Amduat copied on the papyri required the use of horizontal lines separating the registers, where the regions of the Underworld were portrayed. The artists had more scope for their own invention during the production of "pictorial" funerary papyri, consisting mostly of figures. Since this kind of papyri was introduced in the 21st Dynasty, the artists of those days created new schemes, and these underwent similar development to the decoration of the coffins of the period. Three types of the composition of the figural funerary papyri of the 11th-10th century B.C. can be distinguished:

- a/. Vertical composition occurs when the decorated surface of the papyrus is divided exclusively by means of vertical lines, which separate particular scenes and columns of inscriptions. This type of formal arrangement is illustrated by the schemes a, b and c in the TABLE VI.
- b/. Horizontal composition can be observed when the major part of the decorated surface of the papyrus is divided into two registers by means of central horizontal lines, usually double or triple ones. The illustration of this type of composition are the schemes h and i in the TABLE VI.
- c/. Semi-horizontal composition is transitory between two above-mentioned types. It occurs when:
  - the decorated surface of the papyrus is divided vertically, but some of the panels consist of horizontal registers indicated by horizontal dividing lines (cf. TABLE VI, schemes d-g), or

- no internal dividing lines exist on the decorated surface, and particular figures and scenes are painted in a direct sequence; thus the whole decoration gives the impression of being composed horizontally, although between the individual figures some vertical dividing lines could easily have been introduced.

These three types of the composition of the surface of papyrus are equivalent to those of the exterior decoration of the coffin cases observed in the same period <sup>12</sup>. Moreover, the chronological conclusions drawn from the analysis of the decoration of the coffins are valuable, in general, for the respective types of the composition of the papyri. Thus, vertical composition is observable on some figural papyri of the early and middle 21st Dynasty, while it is absent among later pictorial manuscripts. The typological counterpart in the coffins is the type A of their decoration <sup>13</sup>. Again, the horizontal decoration of the exterior of the coffin cases (the so-called type E), which was in the use in the late 21st Dynasty, under Pinudjem II's and Psusennes's pontificates, is in chronological harmony with the horizontal type of the composition of some funerary papyri. The same is true, in general, for the semi-horizontal composition of the papyri, which is a typological counterpart of the type C of the decoration of the coffins, dated to the middle and late 21st Dynasty. However, the usage of vertical and horizontal lines on the great majority of the papyri resulted from the existence of traditional schemes of the religious compositions. Most of the vignettes in the RD-papyri of the New Kingdom were placed in the upper half of the decorated surface of these, and they were, consequently, separated from the texts by means of horizontal lines. From the viewpoint of the formal typology, the royal Amduat-papyri had also semi-horizontal composition, which, however, was created by the artists of the 18th and not of the 21st Dynasty. In conclusion, the character of the dividing lines should be considered only secondary for dating of the papyri, especially those with the semi-horizontal composition, and

<sup>12</sup> op. cit., § 84.

<sup>13</sup> loc. cit.; in the quoted § 84 general characterization of all the typed mentioned here (A, E, C) is given.

the typology based on formal criteria is of somewhat less importance for the papyri than for the coffins.

### 3. Execution of the texts and vignettes

#### § 35.

After the surface of the papyrus intended to receive the religious substance had been divided into panels of various size and shape by means of vertical and horizontal lines, the artist(s) started to fill it with texts and figures, according to the chosen patterns. Two questions present themselves, which concern this stage of the work: 1./ How many craftsmen were engaged in it?, and 2./ In which sequence were the particular works done? The analysis of the rich and divergent material of the papyri of the 11th-10th century B.C. bring different answers to both these questions. When, for example, the papyrus Cairo 60 (Pls. 31-32) is compared with the pap. Cairo 86 (Pls. 22b-25b), both manuscripts representing the category of the Book of the Dead, and both originating from the same period of the middle 21st Dynasty (probably the early pontificate of Pinudjem II), the differences are evident. The former papyrus is 1, 26 m long and only 13 cm high, and all its texts and figures executed with little care, are in black outline without any trace of paint. It is conceivable that this funerary manuscript was made by one craftsman. The order of an execution of texts and vignettes is, in this situation, indifferent, but it seems that figures were traced first, and the legends later. The papyrus Cairo 86 represents a quite different style and quality of the execution; it was undoubtedly produced in a better workshop, the artists employed in which borrowed from Ramesside patterns <sup>14</sup>. The papyrus is 33 cm high and 5,20 m long, and it is hardly imaginable that one person

<sup>14</sup> This papyrus has, therefore, been dated by various scholars to the New Kingdom. Borchardt 1908, p.14 dated it to the 18th Dyn.; Forman and Kischewitz 1971, pl.45, propose a dating to the 19th Dyn.; Seeber 1976, p.203, Luft 1977a, p. 69 and Munro 1988, p. 297 suggest the Ramesside period, too. The papyrus Cairo 86 of Userhatmes originates from the Babel-Gusus tomb, probably from a papyrus-sheath. On the mummies of Userhatmes (Daressy's number A.86 according to Daressy 1907) and his wife Shebty (A.104) mummy-braces with the name of Pinudjem II and a mummy-linen with the date "Year 48 of Menkheperre" have been found.

would have executed all the hieroglyphic texts and colourful elaborated vignettes. Probably two artists, or a painter and a scribe, cooperated in the production of this papyrus. Since the accent was laid on pictures, it was the work of the painter, which seems to have been done first. The scribe continued the work, filling the narrow vertical panels between the vignettes with columns of hieroglyphic texts. In some instances he seems to have arranged the hieroglyphs mistakenly, and he was obliged to write the ends of some words on the bottom border ornament (frame). Similar examples of a wrong arrangement of some fragments of the texts in a given space are furnished by the papyri Cairo 5, 36, 12n, London 16 and Paris 11.

Observations made on some exemplars of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom led J. Černý to the conclusion that <sup>15</sup>

"...generally speaking the text of the whole roll was first written and the illustrations added later."

This sequence was inverted in the 21st Dynasty, and maybe even earlier, parallel to the change of the proportions between the text and the vignettes in favour of the latter. The figures, regarded as more important, were executed first, and the texts added later, when the whole remaining space, among others around the figures of the adoring deceased (cf. Pl.25a) was utilized. The same order of work, i.e. first the execution of the drawings and later of the texts, can be reconstructed from the papyri with copies of the royal Amduat <sup>16</sup>. An atypical example of a careful execution of the papyrus (Cairo 31 belonging to the daughter of the HP Menkheperre) has been described by Sadek as follows: <sup>17</sup>

"Il est soigneusement exécuté selon la méthode égyptienne que l'on rencontre dans les peintures murales des tombeaux privés du Nouvel Empire. On peut remarquer que les représentations avaient été d'abord esquissées en rouge et le nombre des colonnes de texte de chaque registre avait été calculé et les lignes verticales de séparation, égales en longueur avaient été tracées. Les personnages et les éléments ont été ensuite peints et précisés par des contours et des traits se limitant à de simples détails."

<sup>15</sup> Černý, op. cit., p.27.

<sup>16</sup> Sadek 1985, pp.313-318 gives a number of valuable observations on the execution of the papyri of this category.

<sup>17</sup> op. cit., p.150.

That the execution of the figures preceeded that of the texts, may be clearly seen on the examples of two other Amduat-papyri: the pap. Berlin 3 (Pl.33b-c), and the pap. London 16 (Pl.34a). In both papyri the texts over the figures in the lowest registers were never written, probably owing to oversight or the lack of time.

A more complicated picture of the sequence of work done is illustrated by the papyrus Berlin 1. It seems that the following proceeding can be reconstructed. First a draughtsman outlined all the figures of the "classical" version of the royal Amduat (the 12th, 10th and 9th Hours), and the accompanying legends in cursive hieroglyphic were then added - maybe by the same man. Subsequently, the texts in all the vertical columns, both those separating particular Hours of the illustrated version, and those preceeding it (i.e. the text of the abbreviated version of Amduat<sup>18</sup>) were written by somebody else, as the character of the script is different here. On the remaining space of the roll, to the right of the end of the short Amduat-text, a third person - a skilful artist - drew the scene of the Judgement of the Dead from the BD 125/126. This rather unexpected scene accompanied with a legend in "ornamental" hieroglyphs seems to have played the role of an atypical etiquette (Fig. 7). Now, the whole 7,56 m long papyrus was rolled, beginning from the right. At the end of the illustrated version of Amduat, the titles and name of the deceased were written again, in two additional vertical columns, which had not been planned before, as is suggested by an artificial prolongation of the bottom bordering lines (Fig. 8). Finally, on the remaining fragment of the papyrus an inverted figure of Osiris was drawn, probably by the same artist, who drew the scene on the other extremity of the papyrus. Why the figure of Osiris was outlined upside down, can only be the object of conjecture. Perhaps the quickly-working artist wanted to avoid in this way the danger that a freshly-written line (with the deceased's name) would easily be smudged while drawing with his right hand the figure placed further to the left. After the roll was inverted, such a danger existed no longer.

<sup>18</sup> Published by Hornung 1967, pls.5-10.

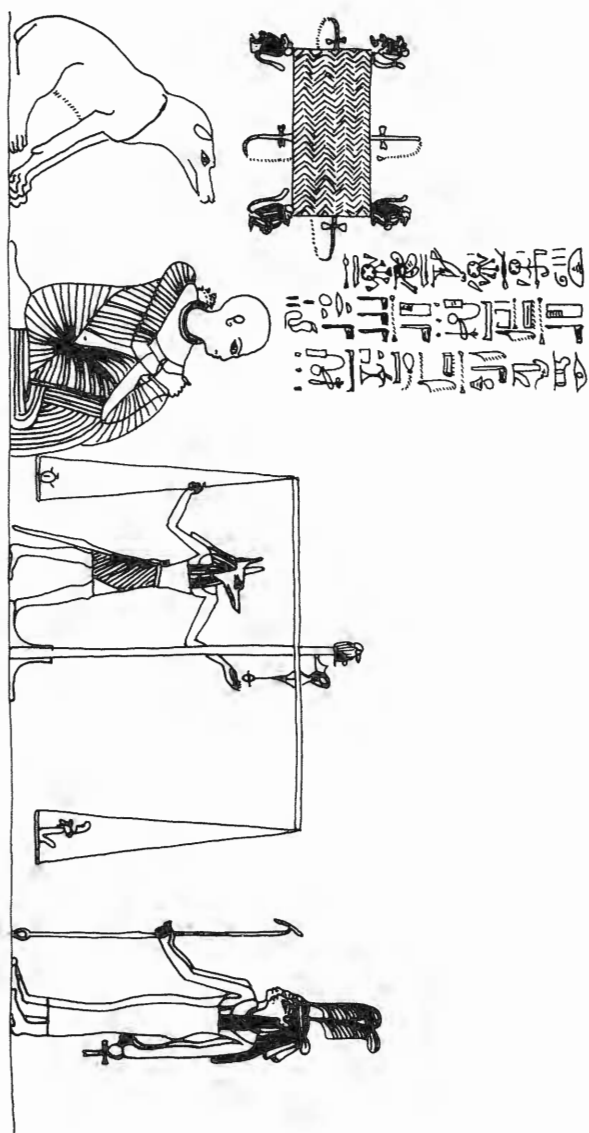


Fig. 7



The papyrus was now finished, the figure of Osiris being near its visible edge. This type of funerary papyri were usually placed between the legs of the mummy, and some mummies of the

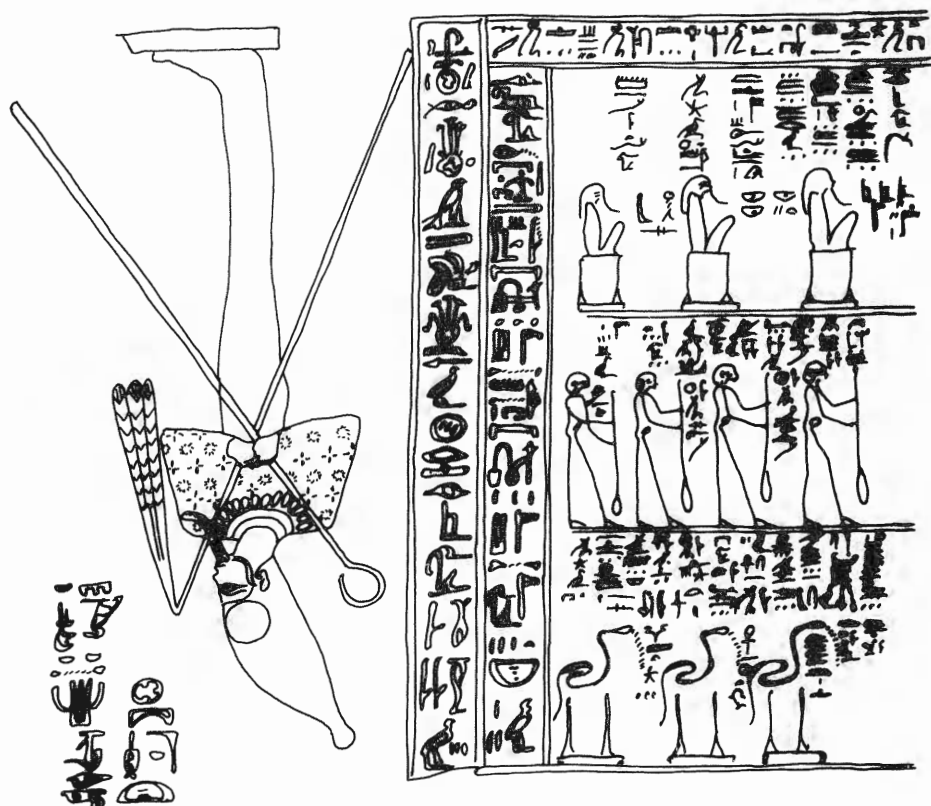


Fig. 8

21st Dynasty were externally covered with shrouds, on which similar figures of Osiris in big scale had been traced. The papyrus Berlin 1 belongs to the very late 21st or the early 22nd Dyn., as one can judge from the style of the coffin of its owner (Berlin 21779). It seems to be conceivable that the figure of Osiris on the papyrus might have been intended to replace that on the shroud.

The old sequence of the works on papyri (i.e. first the

text and then the vignettes) came back in the late 21st Dyn. together with the occurrence of hieratic versions of the Book of the Dead, in which the accent was laid again on the text. In the papyrus of Gatseshen, sister of the HP Pinudjem II (the pap. Cairo 32) in two places the space for vignettes, which had been prepared by the scribe writing the text, were left empty by the artist. Somebody who found these blank places, wrote there the hieroglyphic remarks gm wšr ("found missing")<sup>19</sup>. An interesting case of a division of labour between scribe and drawer is illustrated by the papyrus Cairo 44. The whole text, repeating a fragment of that of the pap. Cairo 32<sup>20</sup>, was written first (on 11 pages consisting from 13 to 19 horizontal lines of hieroglyphic script) and all the vignettes, which exactly correspond with those in Gatseshen's Book of the Dead<sup>21</sup> were then drawn on the remaining space of the papyrus. Most hieratic BD-papyri of the late 21st-22nd Dyn. consisted exclusively of text, and each of them was probably written by one person. Sometimes unfinished papyri were placed in the tomb. The pap. Cairo 108 contains only one "page" and a half of a hieratic text, although the total length of the papyrus is 1,75 m; most of the surface remained blank. The etiquettes with name of the deceased and the scene of adoration of a god (Osiris or Pe-Horakhty) were produced separately by specialized craftsmen and pasted on the edge of the papyrus with the religious contents. Sometimes the ready etiquette was, however, joined to an empty papyrus, which was intended to be filled with texts. From unknown reasons, in case of two papyri: Leiden 4 and London 11 the texts were not written and the papyri were buried unfinished. The papyrus Leiden 4 contains only a number of vertical dividing lines, the space between which remained blank. The papyrus London 11 consists of an etiquette and a reused papyrus, from which a secular text was

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Naville 1914, pls. VIII and XXVII.

<sup>20</sup> The hieratic text of the pap. Cairo 44 corresponds with that published by Naville, op. cit., pls. II (1st line) - VIII (9th line).

<sup>21</sup> op. cit., pls. XVII - LXV.

erased (pl.4b).

papyrus was expensive, and such a situation, as is illustrated with the above-mentioned pap. Cairo 108, where only a fragment of the surface was utilized, is exceptional. An opposite state of affairs, namely a lack of sufficient room for the intended religious contents is much more frequently encountered in the papyri. Such must have been a problem faced by the artists who made the funerary manuscript for a lady Tayuheret (pap. Leiden 1 + 1bis). The artists disposed of a large surface of the papyrus roll 33 cm high, and 9 m long, but they had also a very ambitious program to realize, consisting of recording of a great number of the BD-chapters accompanied by big vignettes in ancient style. Only a part of this vast program was realised, when the artists reached the end of the papyrus (Leiden 1). The decision was then taken to continue the planned work on another papyrus. For this purpose a smaller roll was chosen (30,5 cm high and 1,85 m long, = pap. Leiden 1 bis), the verso of which was in a better condition than the recto, and further BD-chapters were painted on that better side (verso). When also this surface occurred not sufficient, the smaller roll was turned, and the remaining part of the planned repertoire of the BD-chapters was executed on the recto. The small papyrus was then rolled first, and the great manuscript wound round it. In consequence, the original beginning of the papyrus with its colourful etiquette was found in its planned position <sup>22</sup>.

The phenomenon of the continuation of the text on the verso of the papyrus is also encountered on the papyri Paris 44 and London 41. The following is the reconstruction of the sequence of the execution of the text on the latter papyrus, given by A. Shorter in its inventory card (RM 10031):

"The papyrus is inscribed on both sides, the scribe, on reaching the end of the recto having turned the papyrus over and continued back along the verso in the opposite direction. On beginning column 2 of sheet 1 (verso; = subsequent column 9 on the reverse side of the etiquette - A. N.) he found that he had not sufficient room to copy

<sup>22</sup> Heerma van Voss 1971, p. 11 proposed a quite different reconstruction of the sequence of the execution of this papyrus, arguing that the recto of the small roll was finished first, then its verso, and finally the big roll. The

the remainder of Chap. 148, and he therefore added on a further section of papyrus 8 ins in length. Having finished column 2 he then turned the papyrus over and concluded his text on the recto of the new piece; thus the vignette, which should have stood at the beginning of the document, is preceded by a column of hieratic text."

The occasional changes occurring during the execution of funerary papyri concerned not only the search for additional places for new texts, but sometimes also the character of the script, which can be related to the above-mentioned problem of the number of artists working on the same manuscript. A good example is furnished by the pap. London 2 (Pls. 17-19). The right portion of this, directly connected to the etiquette, contains a retrograde hieroglyphic text written in vertical columns and illustrated with several vignettes painted white, green, blue, red and black. The text contains the BD-chapters: 1, 56/59, 9, 81A, 77, 89, 17, 71, 64, 60/62, and 138 copied in retrograde direction, beginning from the end. This part of the text must have, however, been controlled, since an omitted fragment of the BD 77 was subsequently added in a horizontal line below the bordering underline. Similarly, as the controlling person noticed in the vignette a figure of the heart (being illustration to the BD-chapters 26-30, which were, however, lacking in the text written in the finished portion of the papyrus), he added the whole chapter 30B in another horizontal line above the upper bordering. The texts in both horizontal lines are not retrograde. At this stage of the work somebody started to continue this Book of the Dead, but quite unexpectedly, he used not hieroglyphic but hieratic script. Theoretically, it could have been the same scribe who made the hieroglyphic portion of the papyrus; the change of the script would have then mean a need for an acceleration of the work. The long BD-chapter 125 was written in this way, and additionally, over the upper border line also the chapter 6 and directly following it the chapter 61 were written in



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papyrus is characterized by strong tendency towards archaization (the retrograde writing, the direction of the figures of the deceased in the vignettes to the right), but it begins on the right end, according to the custom of the period, and was continued towards the left, i.e. in the opposite direction to that, which was indicated by the pattern-papyrus.

two horizontal lines. At the end of the papyrus a double vignette for the BD-chapter 125/126 is seen, which, as it seems, had been made before the whole hieratic text was written, because the end of this was written below, and not above the pictures. The legend accompanying the final vignette, similarly to that in the etiquette, is painted in well-shaped hieroglyphs, different from the cursive script used in the early portion of the papyrus. Thus, in one manuscript various kinds of script can be encountered. This draws our attention to the problem of the palaeography.

Excursus A. Observations on the palaeography of the funerary papyri






§ 36.






Palaeography is often mentioned in publications as a dating criterion of papyri, although not enough studies have so far been devoted to this material. The only attempt to compare a few signs found on various funerary papyri of the 21st Dyn. has been made by Nagel, and a table with the results of this comparative work was published in his work in 1929<sup>23</sup>. The pattern then created has, unfortunately, never been followed. In the present work palaeography is not used as a criterion of the dating, and this decision has resulted from the consideration of three disadvantageous factors. 1/. Our knowledge of the development of the shapes of particular signs in the period between the 18th and the 22nd Dyn. seems to be very limited. The old valuable study of Möller (Möller 1927-1936), being so far the sole point of departure for any further investigation, was devoted only to hieratic script, while the cursive hieroglyphic has never been object of research<sup>24</sup>. On the other hand, between hieratic and cursive hieroglyphic strong links always existed (the latter having been named "old hieratic" in early publications), and some hieroglyphs like  (G.17 according to the list of Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar, or  (M.17) are written almost identically in both types of

<sup>23</sup> Nagel 1929, pls.7-10, with the table on p.9.

<sup>24</sup> The recently published study by Munro 1988, pp.193-197 presents some remarks on the palaeography of the cursive hie-

the script. 2/. As it has been hinted at above (§ 35./, in one and the same manuscript two, or even three different kinds of script were sometimes used. It may be often a result of the work of different scribes. It is significant, too, that the character of the script in the beginning of the papyrus (especially in the legends accompanying the figures of the etiquette) is often much more careful than that in the middle or at the end of the manuscript. The hieroglyphs used in the initial fragment of the 21st Dyn. papyri are sometimes very elaborate, ornamented ones, and they recall the best patterns of the New Kingdom. Therefore, they can easily be mistakenly dated, for example to Ramesside times, instead of the proper period of the 21st-22nd Dynasties. 3/. The study on the coffins of the same period has brought evidence that for some Theban workshops of the middle and the late 21st Dynasty archaization was the most characteristic trend, and the artists employed there consciously copied from the patterns of the New Kingdom. Since coffins and funerary papyri might have been produced in the same workshops, and the same patterns were sometimes utilized for the decoration of the coffins and papyri, it can be assumed that archaization occurred also in a number of the 21st Dyn. manuscripts. Therefore, palaeographic observations made on these papyri should be considered as having only a relative value as a criterion of the dating, unless the material is thoroughly studied.

Notwithstanding the avoidance in the present work of drawing chronological conclusions from the palaeography of the 21st Dyn. papyri, it seems useful to present some palaeographic material here which can be a stimulus to further studies. The material, which is presented in TABLE VII a-c, has been gathered by the present writer mostly in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the British Museum, London, and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. A group of 8 hieroglyphic signs has been chosen, and different versions of their writing in a number of papyri of the 18th-22nd Dyn. have been confronted. The signs are following:  (D.4 according to the list of signs in Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17),  (Gardiner's G.17).

ner's M.17),  (Gardiner's N.35),  (Gardiner's Q.1),  (Gardiner's Q.2),  (Gardiner's V.28), and  (Gardiner's Y.5). The signs have been looked for and copied in the scale 1 : 1 from 23 papyri of the New Kingdom, mostly in the collection of the British Museum (TABLE VIIa), and from 40 papyri of the 21st-22nd Dyn., including 18 papyri of the early and middle 21st Dyn. (TABLE VIIb), and 22 papyri of the late 21st and early 22nd Dyn. (TABLE VII-c).

#### 4. Substantial elements of the funerary papyri and the mode of depositing of the manuscripts in tombs

##### A - Texts and vignettes in the papyri

§ 37.

While the formal structure of a funerary manuscript was dependent on the arrangement of bordering and dividing lines on the papyrus surface, everything that filled the space between these lines or that adjoined the border line from outside belonged to substantial elements of the manuscript. Texts and pictorial representations were the most important elements incorporating the whole religious sense of each papyrus. Among the texts, the following groups can be distinguished in the papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C.

a/. Excerpts from the traditional Book of the Dead of the Theban redaction, including versions and "chapters", which have not so far been found in the papyri of the New Kingdom<sup>25</sup>;

b/. Hymns and litany-like incantations, usually accompanying the representations of the adoration of the Great God in his different forms (Osiris, Re-Horakhty, forms of Re, forms of Osiris, assessors of the Tribunal, guardians of the pylons in the Underworld, etc.). These texts are, in general, in a close relation to the corpus of the Book of the Dead, and several BD-chapters have such a form (for

<sup>25</sup> Examples of such "new" or "inedited" chapters or their versions are published by Nagel, op. cit., passim (pap. Paris 38) and by Heerma van Voss 1971 (pap. Leiden 1 and 1 bis). Cf. also id., 1974b, passim.

example BD 15<sup>26</sup>, 119, 125, 127, 141-3, 173, 181, 183, 185). Nevertheless, hymns formed a distinct group of literary works, and they might have been regarded as obligatory element of the funerary equipment, being found on papyri, stelae and coffins. A great number of the texts of this category were written in the pap. Greenfield (pap. London 61)<sup>27</sup>;

- c/. Excerpts from the royal Amduat of the New Kingdom, generally from the 9th-12th Division of the illustrated version and from the abbreviated version. The papyri differ one from another considerably in degree of completion and accuracy of the texts, which were copied from various patterns. Therefore, besides the manuscripts that are closely comparable to the originals of the Amduat-edition in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, other papyri occur, which present only an echo of the original composition. Examples of this category of texts are well presented in the publication of Sadek<sup>28</sup>;
- d/. Excerpts from other Books of the Underworld, both identified (like the Book of the Gates, Book of the Caverns, Book of the Earth) and unidentified compositions. An example of the texts of this group is represented by the pap. London 59 containing excerpts from the Book of the Caverns, several chapters of the Book of the Dead, and a fragment of the Ritual of the Wag-feast.<sup>29</sup> Some atypical texts of a magical contents, occasionally accompanied by BD-texts, have been found in the hieratic papyri, usually non-illustrated, which were object of the publication by Golenischeff<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. the § 15 and note 74 above.

<sup>27</sup> Budge 1912, pp.25-26, 30, 37, 44-72, pls. 30-31, 39, 50, 67-70, 75-88, 90-91.

<sup>28</sup> Sadek, op. cit., passim.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Budge 1899.

<sup>30</sup> Golenischeff 1927.



e/. The htp di nsw - offering formula and various short formulae of subsidiary meaning that can be regarded rather as legends. Sometimes these played a role of substitute for other texts, which were neglected by a scribe. As such they appear in the imitations of the Amduat-papyri <sup>31</sup>.

Among the figural representations found in the 21st-22nd dynasty funerary papyri the following categories can be differentiated:

- a/. Vignettes to the "classical" chapters of the Book of the Dead, both in the traditional form known from the papyri of the New Kingdom, and in unknown versions, presenting new iconographic variants. In this category also the vignettes should be included, which illustrate the so-called unknown BD-chapters, like BD 193 <sup>32</sup>.
- b/. Illustrations to the second category of texts, i.e. to hymns and litanies. Most of these concern solar themes, being figural representations of the principle idea of the eternal circuit of the Sun and multitude of the forms of the Great God in his united aspects of the Sun and Osiris. Sometimes the scenes of this group appear alone, without the respective texts, or only accompanied by short legends. This category of figures is the dominant element of the papyri illustrating the forms of Re. <sup>33</sup> Similarly as the texts of hymns and litanies are related to some BD-chapters, the solar scenes are thematically connected with such chapters as BD 15, 39, 64, 100-102, 130-136, or 180. However, when a scene of this kind occurs without a clear textual context, it should be regarded as belonging to the present category rather than to the previously described one. Scenes of the adoration of gods by the deceased from the point of view of their contents, also belong here. Most of these, however, play the role of the etiquettes, and therefore they are classified separately;
- c/. Illustrations to the copies of the royal Amduat, representing as a rule only the motives of four last divisions of

<sup>31</sup> Sadek, op. cit., p.185, pl.36 (pap. Cairo 57).

<sup>32</sup> Heerma van Voss 1974b, passim.

<sup>33</sup> Published by Piankoff 1964 a, pp.63-182.

that composition; few exceptions are, however, known of the use of some motives of the 3rd Hour of the Amduat (for example, pap. Marseille 3). Similarly to the texts, the scenes illustrating the motives of Amduat on papyri present sometimes only variations on the well-known theme, and they can be combined with other categories of pictorial representations;

- d/. Illustrations derived from other compositions known from the royal tombs, or the Books of the Underworld like the Book of the Gates, the Book of the Caverns, or the Book of the Earth<sup>34</sup>. These motives are usually combined with those from the Amduat and from the Book of the Dead;
- e/. Figural compositions created in the 21st Dynasty to illustrate the principles of the theology of those days, and maybe regarded by the ancient Egyptians as belonging to a new pictorial redaction of the Book of the Dead<sup>35</sup>, which remains, however, only a conjecture.

The texts and iconographic representations - the substantial elements of the funerary papyri - are found combined in various ways and in different proportions each to other. The following table illustrates the proportions between text and iconographic scenes in some 21st Dyn. papyri (cf. § 15 above):

Name of the owner of the papyrus	The whole surface of the papyrus (in sq.m)	The area taken by the whole decoration (in sq.m)	The space covered with the vignettes (in sq.m)	The percentage of the decorated surface taken by vignettes	The percentage of the decorated surface covered by texts
Many (New York 13)	1,69	1,47	0,68	46,25%	53,75%
Pinudjem I (Cairo 111)	1,64	1,34	0,77	57,50%	42,50%
Tayheret (Leiden 1)	4,09	2,95	1,31	44,40%	55,60%
Paser (Leiden 3)	1,42	1,32	0,68	51,50%	48,50%
Anhai (London 58)	1,86	1,46	1,12	76,70%	23,30%
Pinudjem II (London 63)	2,31	1,69	0,05	2,96%	97,04%

<sup>34</sup> The group of papyri called by Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.203-215 "The Aker papyri" belongs here.

The results obtained inform us that the proportions between texts and vignettes in the BD-papyri of the 21st Dynasty are comparable with those of the Ramesside manuscripts. However, if the hieratic BD-papyri having no vignettes excepting the etiquette, which are often encountered since the late 21st Dynasty, are taken into consideration, the result can reach an extreme, as the papyrus of Pinudjem II shows. On the other hand, there are also pictorial papyri in the period, which consist exclusively of iconographic representations, and the figures of the above table would reach another extreme (100% of the surface covered with pictorial motives), if such papyri would have been included here. In any case, the proportions between the figures and texts are of importance for an analysis of the group of funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty, which continued the traditions of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom.

#### § - Etiquette

§ 38.

Etiquettes, or the initial vignettes were substantial, but not constant elements of the funerary papyri, and they were sometimes omitted in some manuscripts. For the purpose of this work, it has been calculated that etiquettes were lacking in about 25% of all the papyri known from the period, and the great majority of these represented two categories: a/ papyri comprising motives of the royal Amduat, and b/ hieratic textual BD-papyri, both groups dating from the late 21st/early 22nd Dynasties. In regard to the technical aspects of the execution of the papyri, three groups of etiquettes can be distinguished;

- 1/. etiquettes planned as an integral part of the papyrus, being situated within the border ornament (frame), and executed together with the remaining scenes of the papyrus;
- 2/. etiquettes painted on the same roll of papyrus as other substantial elements (texts and vignettes), but executed only after the papyrus was ready, and
- 3/. etiquettes made on separate sheets of papyrus, and pasted together with the funerary papyrus proper.

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. § 21 above.

The etiquettes of the first group usually belong to the papyri made to order, when the name and titles of the owner of the papyrus were known to the artist before he started to the work. The name, titles and figure of the deceased reappear in such papyri in several places. The second group of etiquettes are often found on the manuscripts prepared in advance. On such papyri a sufficient free place was left on the initial sheet, where the etiquette had to be painted as the final stage of the work. It seems that the etiquettes were executed by skillful artists, and they might have, as a rule, been made as the last part of the whole decoration of papyrus, even an ordered one. For unknown reasons, such etiquettes, however, in some instances were not made at all. Examples of such an omission are furnished by the papyri Cairo 62<sup>36</sup>, Cairo 90 and pap. Geneva. The third group of the etiquettes is connected with the papyri produced anonymous and offered for sale. It seems that most of these separately made etiquettes originates from a "serial" production of similar (although not identical) scenes of adoration, in which the title and name of the deceased were inserted in the blank spaces above his figure (cf. pap. Leiden 7, Fig. 9). However, if such was the intention of



Fig. 9

the client, an etiquette was made to order and stuck together with the purchased papyrus. Obviously, the cost was considerable, since a great number of anonymous funerary papyri, mostly of the Amduat-type have been found on the mummies. If separated from the coffins, in which they were deposited (usually between the legs of the mummy), such papyri can no longer be attributed to their original owners.

The principal function of the etiquette was to contain the name and titles of the deceased, and sometimes also his parentage. However, etiquette played also a parallel role as a substitute of the scene of adoration of the Great God by the dead, and recitation by him of a hymn, which in the New Kingdom had been represented in every private tomb<sup>37</sup>. The scenes found in most of the etiquettes are paralleled by analogous representations on the stelae of the same period; however, stelae are much less frequent than the papyri<sup>38</sup>.

The god being the object of adoration in most of the etiquettes is Osiris (cf. Pls. 3, 6b, 12a, 17a, 20a, 21a, 30a, 33b, 39b, 43a, 48a), sometimes accompanied by Isis (Pls. 25c, 26a, 42a), or by Isis and Nephthys (Pls. 31a, 42c). In one instance, besides the two divine sisters Toth also appears (pap. Cairo 81, pl. 22a). In the pap. Cairo 21 Osiris receives adoration in the company of some divinities, which play probably the role of the assessors at the Judgement of the Dead. Instead of Osiris, the god is named Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in some late 21st/early 22nd Dyn. papyri Cairo 83, Cairo 91 and Leiden 17<sup>39</sup>. The iconographic form of Sokar-Osiris is

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Piankoff 1964a, p.121.

<sup>37</sup> Sadek, op. cit., pp.318-322 has devoted much attention to the etiquettes on the Amduat-papyri. He has made the same observation about their role of substitutes of the adoration scenes in tombs, and pointed to some concrete analogous scenes in Theban tombs of the New Kingdom. However, his statement that "...il faut vraisemblablement voir dans la vignette du papyrus à cette époque, une sorte de substitut de la chapelle du tombeau" seems to be somewhat exaggerated.

<sup>38</sup> From the Bab el-Gusus-tomb, where in 1891 altogether 153 mummies in coffins were discovered, not counting the papyri found on the mummies, 77 papyrus-sheaths originated, and only 8 stelae (Daressy 1900, p.144).

<sup>39</sup> The pap. Cairo 83 belongs to Djedptahiufankh, who died in

very similar to that of Re-Horakhty, and this name of the Great God is sometimes encountered in the papyri, besides its more complex counterparts: Re-Horakhty-Atum, Re-Horakhry-Atum-Khepry, or even Re-Horakhty-Atum-Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (pap. Berlin 6 and London 54, cf. Pl.1b) <sup>40</sup>. In one papyrus of the late 21st Dyn. (Leiden 6) the god is named simply Atum <sup>41</sup>. Sometimes the god bears no concrete name, and in the accompanying legend a general designation: God (ntr(), ntr pn, or ntr nb tmntt) is found. This occurs in the early 21st Dyn. papyri like pap. New York 13 (of Nany, daughter of Herihor), in the middle 21st Dyn. papyri like pap. Cairo 119 (dated by some inscriptions on the owner's mummy to the late pontificate of the HP Menkheperre), and also in the later period (late 21st/early 22nd Dyn., cf. pap. London 11, Pl. 4b, Manchester 2, Turin 26). A unique variant is given in the papyrus Turin 13, where the god in the etiquette is named Amenhotep I (Fig.10).

It may be concluded from the observations of the variants of the Great God's name in the 21st Dyn. etiquettes that in general the single name (like: Osiris or the designation "the Great God") chronologically preceded the complex name-structures like Re-Horakhty-Atum, or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The earliest compound name in the etiquettes seems to be that of Re-Horakhty, introduced in the middle 21st Dynasty papyri (Cairo 122, London 24, London 60, Paris 38).

To reconcile the Osirian and solar attribution of the Great God, a double etiquette sometimes occurred, as found in the papyri Paris 12, Leiden 21 (Pl. 4a), London 57 (Pl.5b), London 59. The last-mentioned papyrus also furnishes the only

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the reign of Sheshonq I or Osorkon I; cf. the etiquette published by Sadek, op. cit., p.110, pl. 13; the pap. Leiden 17 can be dated to the reign of Osorkon I, too, because the name of this King appeared on the mummy-braces found on the mummy of the owner of this papyrus; the etiquette published by Heerma van Voss 1982a, pl. 16. The pap. Cairo 91 belonged to a granddaughter of Menkheperre, Herytuben, who died in the reign of King Siamun; cf. Piankoff-Ramova 1957 (pap. no 1).

<sup>40</sup> The remarkable differences between the etiquettes, in respect of style of the drawing, the use of various colours, or different kinds of the ornament bordering the scene, (for example that with a sky-motif supported by two ws-sceptres) seem to be an interesting theme for detailed

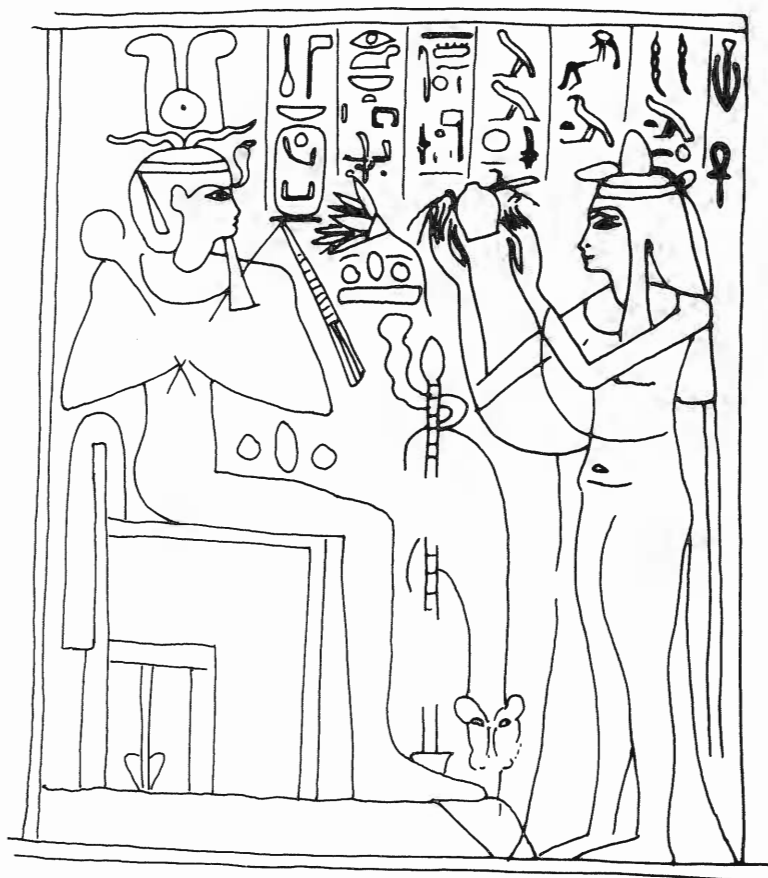


Fig. 10

example of the name Amun-Re-Horakhty (Pl. 49a). The second additional etiquette is occasionally encountered on the left end of the papyrus, and it can repeat the theme from the right side etiquette (cf. pap. Cairo 49, Pl. 3a-b), or can comprise only a figure of the deceased accompanied by the legend with his name and titles (pap. Cairo 120) <sup>42</sup>. Contrary to the opinion of Sadek <sup>43</sup>, it seems that no special importance or religious meaning should be attached to the position of

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studies, which could provide new information on the Theban workshops and individual artists of the period of the 11th -10th cent. B.C.

the etiquette. Those on the left side of the papyri are few in number, and the papyri give the impression of having been unfinished, the proper etiquette being lacking at its typical position on the right end, as it may be observed, for example, in the pap. Cairo 120.

The deceased, or rather his Ka, occurs in most etiquettes alone, or in the company of his consort's Ka. Sometimes the Ka-form is replaced by the Ba of the deceased, and occasionally both these forms are represented together. Other members of the family appear only exceptionally in the etiquette (pap. Marseille 2)<sup>44</sup>. More frequently, various deities are shown, accompanying the dead: Isis in the pap. Luxor 1<sup>45</sup>, Maat in the pap. Cairo 81 (cf. Pl.22a), Isis-Mephtys and Hathor (?) in an unfinished etiquette in the pap. Leiden 7 (cf. Fig.9), or Toth in the pap. Cairo 123<sup>46</sup>. The scenes of the deceased being introduced by a divinity before the throne of Osiris recall the vignettes to the BD-chapter 125. In fact, in a number of the papyri the proper etiquette was replaced by a substitute-etiquette, presenting the deceased in adoration before a scene or chapter of the Book of the Dead. The BD 125 is most frequently encountered (in the papyri Cairo 11, Cambridge, Leiden 3, London 5; cf. Pl.45a; New York 13, Paris 1, Paris 50). Other BD-chapters occurring in the substitute-etiquettes, are the following: BD 145 (in the pap. Cairo 86, cf. Pl.22b), BD 161 (in the pap. Cleveland 2<sup>47</sup>), various BD-chapters

<sup>41</sup> The etiquette is published by Heerma van Voss 1982 a, pl.8.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Sadek, op. cit., pls. 39 and 41.

<sup>43</sup> op. cit., pp.320-321: "Si le défunt est à gauche, et fait face au commencement de la composition, c'est qu'on est en présence de son entrée dans l'autre monde. /.../ Le problème est différent pour les vignettes qui sont à droite des manuscrits."

<sup>44</sup> Published by Lonzzone 1882, pl. 267.

<sup>45</sup> Published by Romano 1979, fig. 135.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Piankoff and Rambova 1957 (pap. no. 11).

<sup>47</sup> Heerma van Voss, op. cit., pl. 3.



(fragments of the texts in the pap. Cairo 36<sup>48</sup>), BD 100 (in the pap. London 34), BD 15 (in the pap. London 31, Pl. 7b, London 58<sup>49</sup> and Paris 39<sup>50</sup>). The solar scenes combined with the traditional etiquettes with Osiris are found in the papyri Cairo 20, Cairo 67 (Pl. 26a), Cairo 125 (Pl. 25c), and Cairo 128<sup>51</sup>. In three groups of the papyri the substitute-etiquette has the following structure: the figure of the deceased at the right end of the papyrus roll is represented in adoration in front of the whole decoration of the papyrus, constituting an integrate unity. The first group of these papyri comprises manuscripts with the forms of Re: pap. Berlin 26 (Pl. 33a), Cairo 33<sup>52</sup>, London 28, London 32 and Oxford 3<sup>53</sup>. The second group contains the series of the figures being the BD-motives<sup>54</sup>. The third group represents versions of the Amduat (cf. an example of these, the pap. Manchester 1, Pl. 36c). An interesting combination of the scene of adoration of the forms of Re, and of the judges from the BD 125 is found in the pap. Cambridge (Fig. 11). Finally, the exceptional substitute-etiquette in the pap. Cairo 43 should be mentioned<sup>55</sup>. The owner of the papyrus, the daughter of the HP Pinudjem I, Maatkare is represented there as receiving offerings from a kheri-hebet - priest instead of giving them to a god. Therefore, Maatkare herself takes place of a divinity in the etiquette, which can be only explained with her exceptional status as God's Wife, awarding her also right to use cartouche.

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<sup>48</sup> Mariette 1871-1876, pap. no 22.

<sup>49</sup> Budge 1899 (pap. Anhai).

<sup>50</sup> Piankoff 1935, p. 144.

<sup>51</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pap. no 25.

<sup>52</sup> Piankoff 1964a, pp. 98-99

<sup>53</sup> Blackman 1918, pl. 3.

<sup>54</sup> The papyri studied by Chassinat 1903, passim, and by Köhler 1972, passim.

<sup>55</sup> Naville 1912, pl. I.

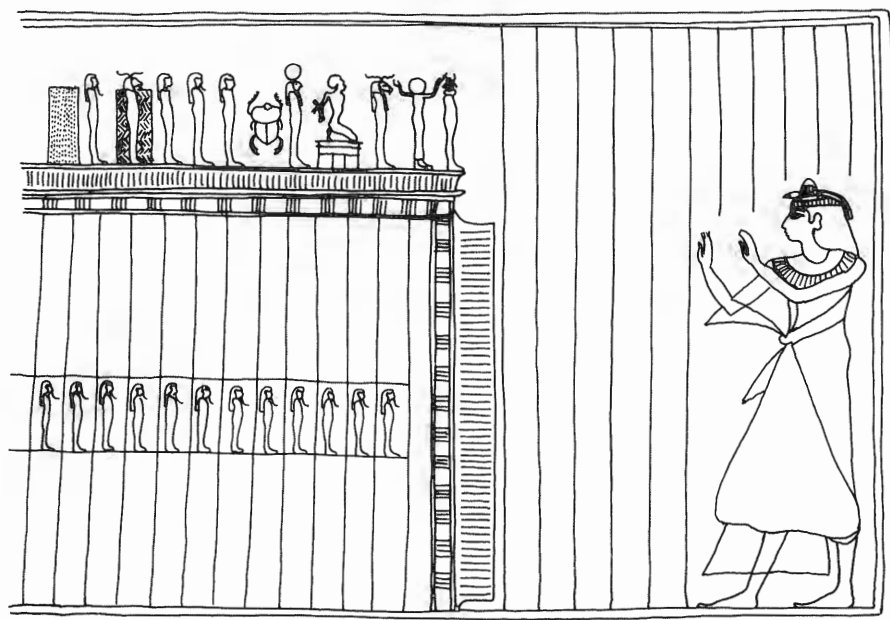


Fig. 11

C - Titles of the funerary papyri and the mode of depositing  
of these in the tomb-equipment

§ 39.

Title, similarly to the etiquette, should be regarded as a substantial, but not constant element of the decoration of the papyri, because it was not always written. The occurrence of this element, usually on the edge of the roll, on its verso, is always of great importance for us, since in this way we can gain insight into the original ancient Egyptian interpretation of the entitled manuscript. Today such an interpretation is not always easy, and the affiliation of a titleless papyrus to a category of the funerary manuscripts based on an analysis of its contents only, must sometimes be considered uncertain, unless analogies are found in another papyrus with a title. Thus, the title is a prior criterion for the classi-


fication of various categories of the funerary manuscripts. The typology adapted in this work is based on the observation that two principle categories of these were distinguished by the Egyptians themselves, and each of these groups was given a distinct title.

The first category was, in general, a continuation of the traditional funerary papyri of the New Kingdom, and the traditional title pry m hrw, or Book of the Dead was adapted for them. In the present work, this category of the 21st-22nd Dyn. manuscripts is referred to as the BD-papyri. The title pry m hrw (or t' pry m hrw, or else md't pry m hrw) was found recorded on 23 papyri: Cairo 9, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 81, 98, 99, 118, 126, Leiden 3, London 3, 25, 54, New York 13, Paris 11, 12, 28, Richmond, Turin 1, 4, Vatican 1. In most instances it was written in hieroglyphs in a vertical column, the signs facing right, less frequently however, in hieratic, in a horizontal line. The following are examples of the orthography of the title according to its various versions found in the papyri:

	Cairo 9
	Cairo 36
	Cairo 44
	Cairo 118
	Paris 11
	Paris 12
	Richmond
	Turin 1
	Turin 4
	Cairo 81
	New York 13

	London 3
	London 25
NN 	Leiden 3
NN 	Cairo 126
	Paris 28
	London 54

Most of the titles were written outside the bordering frame, or etiquette, usually on the verso. In some instances (pap. Paris 11 and Turin 4) it was, however, written inside the frame, near the etiquette, in the first column of the text. The lack of the separate title in most hieratic papyri is connected with the occurrence of the words pry m hrw in the beginning of the text of some BD-chapters (BD 1, 2, 64-72), often recorded in these manuscripts. The separate titles appear more frequently in the early and middle 21st Dynasty than in the later years. The latest dated papyrus with such a title belonged to a certain Amenhotep, on whose mummy bandage with the name of the HP Psusennes, and the date "Year 12" (of Siamun or of Psusennes II) was found. The possibility, however, is not excluded that the title pry m hrw was occasionally recorded after that date, and the state of our sources is fortuitous in this respect, because another title (mg't lmy D't) is found in the papyrus belonging to the grandson of the King Osorkon I in the 22nd Dynasty.

The papyri of the BD-group were as a rule deposited in the hollowed statuettes of Osiris, or papyrus-sheaths<sup>56</sup>, or in their bases, sometimes shaped in the form of the Maat-hieroglyph . These statuettes were found, in undisturbed tomb-caches, placed near to the coffin (cf. Athanasy's report, § 28 above), sometimes standing directly over it. One statuette of this kind, containing an anonymous and so far unidentified pa-

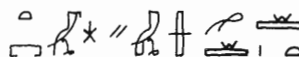
<sup>56</sup> Raven 1979, *passim*.

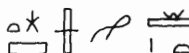
pyrus, was discovered inside of the coffin of a certain Henut-tawy (Cairo J.29656) <sup>57</sup>. Exceptionally the BD-papyri were found enveloped together with mummies, like the papyrus Cairo 111 belonging to the HP Pinudjem I <sup>58</sup>. However, such a place of the depositing of papyri was rather reserved for the papyri of the second category, i.e. the manuscripts called t' mg't imy D't, that is referred to in this work as the A-papyri.

§ 40.

This category of the funerary papyri was created first in the early 21st Dynasty, and it underwent a distinct evolution during the subsequent 100 years. In consequence, quite different kinds of funerary manuscripts of the period were given the same title (t') mg't imy D't. The problem will be discussed in the Chapter V, and here it is fair to say that the title was written in the manuscripts, which - in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians - constituted a category different from the Book of the Dead. Sometimes, however, the contents of the A-papyri is hardly distinguishable from that of the BD-manuscripts. The title was found on 30 papyri. These are: Berlin 3, Cairo 10, 18, 33, 50, 54, 55, 58, 64, 66, 72, 82, 89, 94, 96, 114, 119, 122, Leningrad 5, London 24, 28, 32, 36, 59, 62, New York 14, Paris 8, 16, 20, Vienna 1. The title, similarly to that of pry m hrw, is written in most instances in hieroglyphs, in vertical columns, facing right; less frequently hieratic versions in horizontal lines are encountered. The following are examples of the orthography of the title, according to its various versions:

 London 24

 Cairo 66

NN  Cairo 89



<sup>57</sup> Daressy 1907, p.27.













<sup>58</sup> Maspero 1889a, p.570: "La momie avait été ouverte par les Arabes à la hauteur de la poitrine et quelques ornements dérobés. La partie inférieure était intacte, et le roi avait encore entre les jambes son Livre des Morts roulé."













	London 62
	London 32
	London 36
	Cairo 33
	Cairo 58
	Paris 20
	Cairo 119
	Cairo 82
	Cairo 122
	London 28
	Leningrad 5 and Paris 16
	New York 14
	Berlin 3
	Cairo 64
	Cairo 121

The last-mentioned title is accompanied with the names of 4 Sons of Horus. Most of the titles were written outside the bordering frame, usually on the verso. Occasionally they appear, however, near or in the etiquette (pap. London 24 and London 62). The titles md't imy D't occurred in the early 21st Dynasty, accompanying the earliest papyri of this category, and they were used throughout the 21st Dyn., and also in the 22nd Dyn. The latest dated papyrus denoted by the title is the pap. Leningrad 5 belonging to a grandson of the King Osorkon I.

The A-papyri were deposited in the tomb-cache, as a rule envelopped together with mummy. In most instances the roll of the A-papyrus was laid between the legs of a mummy. Sometimes, however, atypical modes of placement of the papyri on mummies are recorded. The papyrus Cairo 82 was laid on the belly of the mummy <sup>59</sup>, the papyri Cairo 30 and Cairo 94 were wound round the legs <sup>60</sup>, and the papyrus Cairo 15 was used as an atypical substitute for the plate of wax which usually covered the embalmers' cut on the left side of a mummy; the last-mentioned papyrus accompanied the mummy in addition to two other papyri: a small magical one, and a roll of another papyrus of the A-category <sup>61</sup>.

Exceptionally, some substitute-titles may be encountered with the funerary papyri. In the pap. Cairo 86 and Cairo 88 the inscriptions:  var.  occur without any addition. On the papyri Berlin 23 and London 7 the similar but more developed substitute-titles appear:













Berlin 23:            

London 7:            

Both these papyri belonged probably to the same person.

<sup>59</sup> Daressy 1907, p.31.

<sup>60</sup> op. cit., pp. 30 and 38, respectively.

<sup>61</sup> op. cit., p.34: "Un papyrus roulé de 0 m. 47 cent. de longueur était placé sur la poitrine, au outre entre les jambes, le premier étant lié par des fibres de papyrus. /.../ Un troisième papyrus placé sur le dos et revenant sur le flanc gauche remplaçait la plaque en cire ordinaire; il est au nom de            ."





## chapter IV. Papyri of the pry m hrw - type (BD-category)

### 1. Introductory remarks

#### § 41.

From among 427 papyri listed in the Part Two of this work, 194 manuscripts have been ascribed to the BD-category. A papyrus was given such an attribution, when one of the following situations occurred:

1. The separate title pry m hrw was found on the papyrus;
2. The text on the papyrus was begun with the words pry m hrw;
3. The contents and composition of the manuscript revealed distinct analogy with those of the Book of the Dead-papyri of the New Kingdom;
4. The contents of the papyrus was analogous to that of another manuscript being entitled pry m hrw.

Among the BD-papyri category a great diversity is observable. Besides the hieroglyphic richly illustrated manuscripts, hieratic papyri without illustrations belong here; besides well-known texts and vignettes of the traditional chapters of the Book of the Dead of the Theban redaction, unknown texts and new figural compositions appear; the proportions between texts and pictures vary considerably from one manuscript to another.

In general, three groups of BD-papyri may be distinguished. One group comprises textual papyri, most of them written in hieratic, supplemented with an etiquette containing a scene of the adoration of the Great God by the deceased (cf. § 38. above). These easily recognizable papyri were regarded by Naville as typical only for the period between the 20th and the 26th Dyn.<sup>1</sup>, and therefore in the following classification, this group is given designation BD.I. with two sub-types distinguished: hieroglyphic papyri (BD.I.1) and hieratic ones (BD.I.2).

The second group of the BD-papyri continues the tradition of the illustrated manuscripts of the Ramesside period, although some new variants of texts and vignettes occur in them. In these papyri texts still play an important role, sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Naville 1886, pp.35-37.

even a predominant one, but the number of the vignettes can also be considerable. This group is denoted in the following typology as BD.II. Similarly to the previous group, two subtypes have been distinguished: hieroglyphic papyri (BD.II.1) and hieratic papyri (BD.II.2).

The third group of the funerary manuscripts within the BD-category comprises papyri of the "new redaction", created in the early 21st Dynasty, and subsequently developing, under strong influence of another category of funerary manuscripts, i.e. the A-papyri. Although some papyri of this group (referred to, for the purpose of the classification, as BD.III) recall very much those of the previously described type BD.II, they are, in general, characterized by two features: a.) high percentage of the vignettes (up to about 90% of the decorated surface of the papyrus; some chapters of the Book of the Dead are represented exclusively by figures); b.) presence of new figural compositions, not known from the funerary papyri of the New Kingdom, which can be hardly interpreted as illustrations to concrete traditional BD-chapters (notwithstanding the possibility that they might have, in fact, been understood as such illustrations by the ancient Egyptians).

Among all the papyri classified as BD.III-type are hieroglyphic manuscripts (BD.III.1), being related, to some extent, to the BD.II.1-group. The hieratic counterpart of this type (BD.III.2) is represented only by one manuscript of the early 22nd Dynasty. Type BD.III.1 is, in turn, subdivided into two groups: a and b, reflecting stylistic differences between particular papyri within the type, and above all, reflecting different colouring.

## 2. Textual BD-papyri of the 11th-10th century B.C.

### A - Type BD.I.1 of the papyri (Pl.1a)

§ 42.

The papyri belonging to this type can be distinguished by the following characteristics:

- The etiquette on the right end of the papyrus remains the only illustration;
- The text is written in hieroglyphs arranged in vertical co-

lums; the text is not retrograde;

- The text contains various chapters of the Book of the Dead.

Only 2 papyri can be distinctly ascribed to this type: the pap. London 3 (Pl. 1a) and Paris 2, both known to Naville, who dated them to the 20th Dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The pap. Paris 2 belonged to the same person who possessed an A.III.3-papyrus (Paris 6)<sup>3</sup>. It must be anticipated here that the contents of this last-mentioned papyrus (some excerpts from the Books of the Under-world) points to the late 21st Dynasty as the date to which this papyrus should be ascribed. Therefore, the premise occurs that the type BD.I.1 of the funerary manuscripts can be dated to the same period, too. The contents of the texts is different in both papyri; while the pap. London 3 comprises a fragment of the BD-chapter 125, and the hymns to Re and Osiris, a number of the BD-spells occur in the pap. Paris 2: BD 92, 89, 138, 118, 94, 26, 75, 137. It is possible that the pap. Leiden 4 containing only parallel vertical dividing lines besides of the etiquette, might have also been planned as a BD.I.1-papyrus, but it was never finished. On the pap. London 3 the title pry m hrw was recorded.

B - Type BD.I.2 of the papyri (Pls.1b-6a)

§ 43.

The manuscripts belonging here are characterized by the following features:

- The etiquette is the only figural scene in the papyrus; exceptionally, it can be doubled or repeated on the other end of the papyrus;
- The remaining part of the papyrus contains hieratic texts arranged in "pages", the width of which differ between various papyri, and sometimes also within the same manuscript; each "page" of the text contains a number of horizontal lines;
- The texts are excerpts from the corpus of the Book of the Dead. This type of papyri constitutes the largest group among the BD-category; more than 50% of all the BD-papyri of

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p.62 (pap. London 3, denoted as "Ak"), and p.105 (pap. Paris 2, "Pi").

the 21st-22nd Dyn. belong here. Naville regarded them as the only typical representatives of that period, of which - opposite to the hieroglyphic manuscripts - he had a high opinion<sup>4</sup>:

"Die vorsaitischen Papyri in hieratischer Schrift bilden eine sehr beachtenswerthe Gattung, und ihr noch nicht begonnenes Studium würde sich sachgemäß an diese thebaische Ausgabe anschließen müssen."

"Unfortunately, since Naville's time only few papyri of this kind have been published<sup>5</sup>, and no comparative research has ever been begun. Such a study in future should take into consideration differences between the etiquettes (which represent a whole range of variants in respect of technique, style, colours, iconographic details, and the religious contents), between the style of handwriting (which can be indicative of various periods, workshops or individual scribes), and between the textual contents of various manuscripts, (which may reflect an existence of different patterns of the texts, or model-papyri).

Some considerations about the etiquettes have been made in the § 38 above. Plates 1b - 6a and Fig. 9 illustrate the variety of the etiquettes and of the style of handwriting encountered in the papyri of this type. One interesting example (pap. Berlin 6) of an atypical mode of recording of the text in relation to the etiquette is illustrated in Pl. 1b; another exceptional papyrus of this kind (pap. London 41) has been mentioned in § 35 above. In the museums some papyri occur, which are without etiquettes, although at the same time they represent distinct textual analogy with the BD.I.2-papyri. Non-illustrated papyri are of little interest for this work, however a few such figureless funerary BD-texts have been included in the list of the sources under the assumption that

<sup>3</sup> Published by Piankoff and Rambova 1957 (pap. no 30).

<sup>4</sup> Naville, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Pap. Leningrad 4 (Evgenova 1957, "pap. no 1"), Leningrad 6 (op. cit., "pap. no 3"), Leningrad 2 (Pavlov and Matje 1958, pl. 78), Chicago 3 (Allen 1960, pp. 60, 61, pls. I-IV), Hamm (Zink 1965, "no 7"), New York 2 (Clère 1968, p. 91 fig. 2), Zagreb 4 (Monnet Saleh 1970, p. 168), Oxford 1 (Moorey 1970, p. 53, il. 24).

they might have been prepared in advance in a workshop, and the lack of etiquettes would have been accidental with them, the papyri being in fact representatives of the type under discussion. An example of such a papyrus containing the BD-chapters 23-26 and 28 (Pap. London D) is illustrated on Pl.6a.

The papyri of the BD.I.2-type differ considerably in length and, consequently, in the number of "pages" of the hieratic text. Many among them contain only 1 "page", but the average number of columns is 3-6. The amplest manuscripts are: pap. Cairo 41 (15 "pages"), pap. Paris 14 (15 "pages"), pap. Cairo 35 (19 "pages"), and London 63 (32 "pages"). The last-mentioned papyrus belonged to the HP Pinudjem II, and it contained the following sequence of the BD-chapters: <sup>6</sup> 1, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 27, 38B, 40, 36, 33, 37, 56, 30B, 29, 27, 28, 11, 2, 4, 43, 61, 6, 5, 15, 47, 104, 96/97, 94, 103, 36, 55, 117, 118, 21, 12, 122, 31, 10, 90, 131, 102, a text known from the pap. Greenfield (Budge 1912, pls. 26-27), 32, 134, 15, 115, 116, 81A, 80, 87, 88, 76, 53, 91, 44, 93, 50B, 124, 26, 135, 130, 125. It is worth mentioning that the above sequence for the great part was followed by the scribe who wrote the pap. Greenfield for the daughter of Pinudjem II, Nesitanebetasheru (pap. London 61).

A comparison between the contents of some other papyri lead to the conclusion that several groups of the papyri can be distinguished, for which different patterns were probably used. In the papyri of the first group the "solar" BD-chapters prevail. Here belong, among others, the papyri Berlin 6 (BD 136A), Berlin 10 (BD 64, 30, 133), Dublin 2 (BD 133, 136, 134) Leningrad 1 (BD 130, 136, 134), London A (BD 15, 180), New York 6 (BD 1, 130, 133), New York 9 (BD 15), Paris 14 (BD 1, 130, 64, 133, 136, 134, 1, 72, 2, 3, 65, 92, 68), Paris 27 (BD 15).

Papyri of the second group have the sole chapter BD 17 recorded. These are, among others, the papyri: London 44, London 50, London G, Paris 28, Paris 30, Paris 34, Turin 21, Turin 23, Turin 24.

<sup>6</sup> According to the identification made by prof. Shore, Liverpool; I thank very much Mr. T.G.H. James, Keeper of the Dept. for Egyptian Antiquities, BM, for rendering this material

The third group seems to be most frequent within the BD.I.2-type. The chapters written in them are above all the BD 23-28, sometimes combined with the BD 162. These are, among others, the papyri: Berlin 7 (BD 23), Berlin 8 (BD 23), Berlin 9 (BD 23, 26), Berlin 10 (BD 23-28), Chicago 3 (BD 23-26, 28), Cleveland A (BD 23), Dublin 3 (BD 27, 26, 25, 28, 27), Kazan (BD 23, 25, 26), Leningrad 2 (BD 23-26, 28, 27), London 40 (BD 23-25, 24, 25, 26, 28, 38B, 40, 36), London 42 (BD 23-25, 24, 26, 28, 27), London 46 (BD 23-26, 28, 27, 162, 180), London 47 (BD 23-26, 28, 27), London 48 (BD 23-26, 28, 27), London 55 (BD 23), London 56 (BD 23-26, 28, 27, 162), London 57 (BD 23-24), London C (BD 23-25, 26, 28, 27, 162), London D (BD 23-26, 28), London E (BD 24, 26, 28, 27, 162), Manchester 2 (BD 23, 28 30A), New York 11 (BD 23-28, 162), Oxford 1 (BD 23, 26, 29), Paris 23 (BD 27), Paris 51 (BD 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 162), Tallinn (BD 23-28, 61), Turin 25 (BD 23-26, 28, 162), Turin 26 (BD 26), Turin 28 (BD 24-26, 28), loc. unkn.1 (BD 23).



The following papyri of the type BD.I.2 are connected with some chronological information:

- Pap. New York 6 belonged to Henuttawy, daughter of the HP Menkheperre;
- Pap. Cairo 31: on the mummy of its owner mummy-braces with the name of the HP Pinudjem II were found <sup>7</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 38 and 40; with them mummy-braces and mummy-linen of the period of HP Psusennes were found;
- Pap. London 63: the owner was the HP Pinudjem II himself; his burial took place in year 10 of King Siamun, under the pontificate of Pinudjem's son and successor Psusennes;
- Pap. Cairo 1: the owner was Istemkheb, wife of the HP Pinudjem II; she died after his husband, probably in the last decade of the 21st Dynasty;
- Pap. loc. unkn. 1: the owner was Djedptahiufankh, son-in-law of Pinudjem II and husband of Nesitanebetasheru. On his mummy-braces the names of the HP Iuput, and on his mummy-linen some dates: Year 5, Year 10 and Year 11 (probably of Sheshonq I) have been found;

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accessible to me.

<sup>7</sup> Daressy 1907, p.27. All the data concerning the mummy-braces and mummy-linen with some chronological information, used

- pap. Paris 51: the owner was Nesikhonspakhered, probably daughter of Nesitanebetasheru, Pinudjem II's daughter. She probably died under Osorkon I;
- pap. Leningrad 4 belonged to Osorkon, a grand-son of the king Osorkon I. The papyrus presumably dates from the middle of the 9th century B.C.;
- pap. Leningrad 6: in the title of the owner the writing  for "Amun" occurs, which indicates a period later than the 21st Dynasty, when this form was absent from the inscriptions;
- pap. New York 3: in the inscription an affiliation  occurs, which also points to a period posterior to the 21st Dynasty. Here a period even as late as the 25th Dynasty can be involved (cf. Vittmann 1978, passim);
- papyri Cairo 35, 39, 108 and New York 9 occurred in funerary ensembles together with coffins of the types III-a and III-b which were in use in Thebes during the late 21st and early 22nd Dynasty <sup>8</sup>;
- Papyri Chicago 3, Leningrad 1, Leningrad 2, London 44, Paris 30 and Paris 35 were connected with coffins of the type V in their funerary ensembles. The earliest coffins of this type occurred in the late pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II, the latest ones are datable to the reign of Osorkon I <sup>9</sup>. The coffin related to pap. London 44 was covered with black bitumen according to a rare custom in use in the early 22nd Dynasty, probably under Osorkon I.

The above information seems to be sufficient for drawing a conclusion. The earliest BD.I.2-papyri appeared under the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II, and they were in a constant use still in the 9th century BC, or even later. It is difficult to say, when they disappeared, but it is possible that they were replaced first by the papyri of the "Saite redaction" of the Book of the Dead.

for the dating of the papyri originating from the Bab el-Gusus tomb, which are mentioned in the further part of this chapter, and in the next chapter, are based on the same publication by Daressy.

<sup>8</sup> Miwiński 1988, §§ 71-72.

<sup>9</sup> op. cit., § 78.

The occurrence of the chapter BD 162 on several papyri seems to corroborate this opinion. This chapter is present, among others, in the papyrus Paris 51, which probably belonged to a granddaughter of the HP Pinudjem II. It would be indicative of an introduction of this chapter long before the Saite version of the Book of the Dead, although the BD 162 was probably not known in the 21st Dynasty yet. Since the BD 162 usually appears together with the "heart"- and the "Opening of the Mouth"-chapters (BD 23-28), it is conceivable that the whole group of the BD.I.2-papyri, for which these spells are most characteristic, may originate from the period relatively later than the papyri, where the "solar" and other chapters are recorded. One should hint at the fact that on the pap. loc. unkn. 1, dated to the period of Sheshonq I, the chapter BD 23 is present, while on the manuscript of Henuttawy, daughter of the HP Menkheperre there are BD-chapters 1, 130 and 133, i.e. "solar"-chapters.

Altogether 99 papyri were distinguished, which can be ascribed to this type ( this makes about 51% of the BD-papyri listed in Part Two). On 4 papyri the distinct title pry m hrw appears, and many texts on these papyri begin with the same words. For 19 papyri their counterparts (belonging to the same owner) within the A-category have been found.

### 3. Illustrated textual BD-papyri as a direct continuation of the traditions of the New Kingdom

#### A - Type BD.II.1 of the papyri (Pls. 6b-10b)

##### § 44.

Papyri of this type are distinguishable by the following characteristics:

- The general appearance of the manuscripts (the bordering ornament, the arrangement of the texts and vignettes and the proportions between the surface covered with texts and that taken by figures) recalls often very much that of earlier papyri, especially of the Ramesside period;
- The place of the etiquette is various; it can occur on the right, on the left, or it can be absent;



- text still plays the leading role, and it is illustrated with figural representations;
- The vignettes and etiquette are, as a rule, painted with the use of several colours; a few exceptions, however, occur;
- The texts, usually retrograde, are written in the cursive hieroglyphic script; some fragments, especially legends in the etiquettes are, however, executed with the use of the elaborated, ornamental hieroglyphs;
- The contents of the papyri can be easily recognizable, and both text of particular BD-chapters and the illustrating vignettes usually correspond to the "classical" versions known from the New Kingdom. Some new versions are sometimes encountered, too.

To the BD.II.1-type 30 papyri have been ascribed, which corresponds to 15,46% of all the manuscripts of the BD-category listed in the Part Two of this work. From these, 6 papyri have been completely, and three others partly published <sup>10</sup>.

Most of the papyri of this group have etiquette placed on the right end, and the general direction of the reading of the papyrus was from the right to the left, although each subsequent chapter was written retrograde, and reads from the left (the hieroglyphic signs facing right). Some papyri, however, were executed according to old patterns; they begin at the left end of the roll, and they read to the right (the pap. Cairo 43 and 111, London 31 and 60, Paris 4). An interesting example

<sup>10</sup> These are papyri: Berlin 4 (published by Naville 1886, p.73; = "Rd", pls.188-189), Cairo 36 (published by Mariette 1871-1876, pls.12-18; = Pap. no 22), Cairo 43 (Naville 1912, pp.7-19, pls.I-X), Cairo 111 (Saleh and Sourouzzian 1986, no 235), Leiden 1 and 1 bis (Heerma van Voss 1971, passim), Paris 4 (Guieysse and Lefébure 1877, passim). Partly published papyri are: Geneva (Bissing 1928, passim; Müller, Wessel and von Beckerath 1961, p.130, Cat.213), Leiden 2 (Naville 1886, p.93,="Lc", pls.143, 144, 160-162, 165-166; Heerma van Voss 1986, pp.12-13, pl.7), London 31 (Naville, op. cit., p.59; = "Af", pls.173, 187, 197, 207-208; Faulkner and Andrews 1985, illustrations on pp. 148, 168-169, 173, 178-179). Individual scenes from various papyri published to illustrate books or articles are not counted here.

of two opposing tendencies joined in one funerary manuscript is furnished by the papyrus Leiden 1 and 1 bis<sup>11</sup>. The execution of the papyrus was begun at the right end of the scroll, where the etiquette was painted. However, the contents of the papyrus was then copied according to the traditional New Kingdom pattern (with the beginning on the left) so that its final chapter BD 150 was executed as the first one, directly behind the etiquette. Strong influence of the Ramesside patterns can be also observed in the papyri London 60 + Paris 47 (of Nodjmet and Herihor), Paris 4 (of Sutyemes), and London 31 (of Mut-hotepet), especially in the shape of the "solar" scene of the adoration of the setting sun (BD "16"; cf. Pl. 7b). Other examples of such manuscripts, the contents of which was derived from Ramesside patterns, are the papyri Berlin 4 and London 21 (Pl. 7a). They recall the group of the papyri with the chapter BD 168, published by Piankoff<sup>12</sup>.


On TABLE VIII various patterns of the arrangement of the vignettes and texts in the papyri of the BD.II.1-type have been drafted, which illustrates different size of the papyri, different direction of reading of the composition, and divergency in the proportions between the surface taken by vignettes, and that covered by the texts in vertical columns. Although two identical papyri, in respect of the composition and the contents, have not been found among the manuscripts of the BD.II.1-type, several "families" of similar papyri occur, representing probably the same workshop, or deriving from the same type of model-papyri. Such similarities exist, for example, between the papyri Berlin 27, Cairo 19, Cairo 59, Cairo 90, and Geneva; further between the pap. Cairo 116 and the pap. Paris 15 (the latter papyrus, unfortunately, is badly damaged and is in a fragmentary state of preservation); finally between the pap. London 35 and London 38. The contents of particular manuscripts can be compared on TABLE IX, which presents the sequence of the BD-chapters in the papyri of this type. The occurrence of particular spells in these is shown in TABLE X. From this register, a frequency of the recording of

<sup>11</sup> Published in a facsimile by Heerma van Voss 1971, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Piankoff 1974, pp.40ff; pls.10-40; the best examples of the



is painted, which recalls two other "chapters of the triumph over an enemy": the BD 31 and 32. At the same time the crocodile may represent the vignette of the chapter BD 88, the more so that just behind the crocodile, and above it, vignettes to other "transformations chapters" are visible: a lotus (BD 81), a falcon (BD 77 or 78 or both of them), a heron (BD 83-84), and a swallow (BD 86). Further, behind the last three figures a mummiform falcon-headed deity with the solar disc over the head is represented, which belongs to the vignette of BD 148. However, this solar deity (Re-Horakhty) is sometimes in the etiquettes of the period identified with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Ptah represents BD-chapter 82, i.e. another "transformations"-chapter. It is, therefore, conceivable that this figure might have played here a double role of a representative both of the BD 148 and BD 82.

Besides the typical textual or iconographic versions of the BD-chapters known from the papyri of the New Kingdom, in the BD.II.1-type some new variants are encountered. Among the iconographic novelties, a strange figure of Medjed 

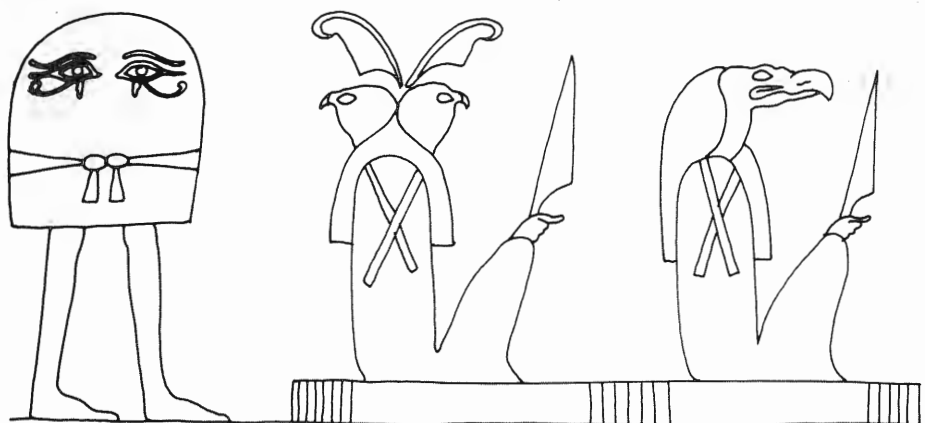


Fig. 13

(Fig.13), connected with the chapter BD 17 should be numbered, which appears on the papyri belonging to one of the above-mentioned "families" (Berlin 27, Cairo 19, 59, 90, Geneva), which may originate from the same Theban workshop <sup>14</sup>. New ico-

nographic motives in the Judgement scene have been found on many papyri of the period (cf. Fig.14 a-b); unusual variants of the vignettes to the BD 168 and 182 are furnished by the pap. London 31 <sup>15</sup>. Finally, atypical motives in the vignette

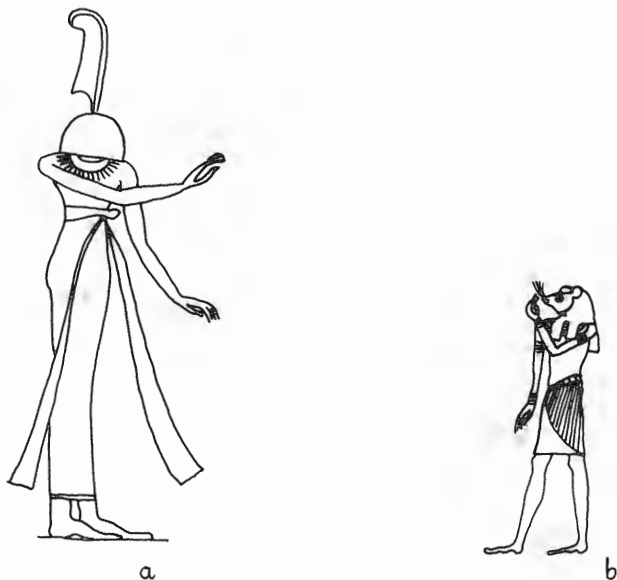


Fig. 14

to the chapter BD 110 figure in the Book of the Dead of Maat-kare (Cairo 43); the deceased herself is not shown there at work in the fields of Osiris, and the work is done instead of her by a man, who must not be interpreted as her husband (she lived in celibacy) (Fig. 15).

Three further scenes accompanying atypical texts from the pap. Leiden 1 have been pointed out by Heerma van Voss <sup>16</sup>.

One of these was entitled by him "chapter 193" of the Book of

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bruyère 1939, pp.182-184, figs.77-78. Because of the similarity between the type BD.II.1 and older funerary manuscripts, the papyri Cairo 19, 59 and 90, and the papyrus Geneva have been dated there to the 18th Dynasty.


<sup>15</sup> Faulkner and Andrews, op. cit., pp.178-179.

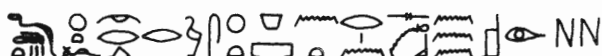
<sup>16</sup> Heerma van Voss 1971, pls. 13, 18-20; id., 1974b, passim; id., 1978, passim.

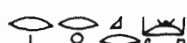


Fig. 15

the Dead <sup>17</sup>, another one has been given a descriptive designation "Anubis and 7 demons" <sup>18</sup>. The third text accompanies the scene of purification. The BD 193, to my knowledge occurs only in the pap. Leiden 1, while two other compositions appear on several papyri of the 21st Dyn. (especially of the BD.III.-type). The text and the illustration (sometimes the illustration only) of the "Anubis and 7 demons" occurs in the pap. Cairo 45 (Pl.21b), pap. Cairo 65 (Fig. 16), and pap. Havana <sup>19</sup>, and the purification scene is very common, and it appears, among others, in the pap. Cairo 32, Cairo 44 (Pl. 16b), Cairo 45 (Fig.17), Cairo 60 (Pl.32b), Cairo 67 (Pl.27a), Cairo 125, London 4, London 6, etc. Both compositions are often combined, or found near the BD-chapters 110, 125 or 130, and they are related each to other by the figure of Anubis, and also by the contents. In the text of

the spell of "Anubis and 7 demons" the words  "House of Purification" are distinguished, while the "purification spell" begins with the following words:



Since the "Spell for knowing the coffins" <sup>20</sup> 

has generally been accepted as the chapter 193 of the Book of

<sup>17</sup> id., 1974b, passim.

<sup>18</sup> id., 1978, passim.

<sup>19</sup> Published by Lipińska 1982, pp.137-142.

<sup>20</sup> Heerma van Voss 1971, pl. 20.

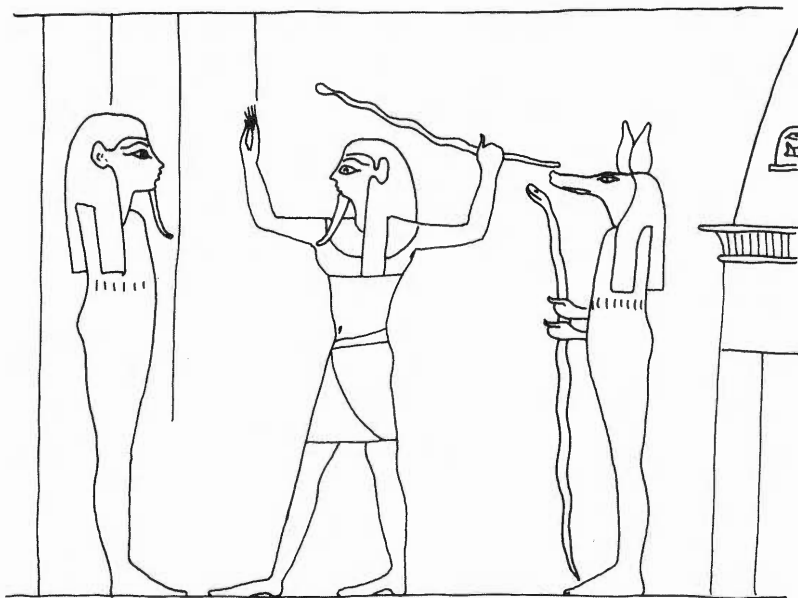


Fig. 16

the Dead, I would suggest that it is possible to recognize the independent substance of the composition from the same papyrus; "Anubis and 7 demons" beginning with the words <sup>21</sup>

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽𓵾𓵿𓶀𓶁𓶂𓶃𓶄𓶅𓶆𓶇𓶈𓶉𓶊𓶋𓶌𓶍𓶎𓶏𓶐𓶑𓶒𓶓𓶔𓶕𓶖𓶗





- In the pap. Paris 48 <sup>26</sup>:



some atypical texts from the pap. Paris 38 have also been published by Nagel <sup>27</sup>. From the above-quoted papyri, four belong to the type BD.II.1.

Among the papyri of this group, the following are connected with some information, which can help us in the dating of this type:

- Pap. Paris 4 (of Sutes): the owner's son celebrated the renewal of the burial of Amenhotep I in the Year 16 of Smendes, under the pontificate of the HP Masaharti <sup>28</sup>;
- Papyri: Cairo 111, 36, 43 and London 60 + Paris 47 belonged to the family of Pinudjem I: Pinudjem I himself, his wife Henuttawy, his daughter Maatkare, and his sister Nodjmet, respectively. Nodjmet died soon after the Year 1 of the King Psusennes I <sup>29</sup> and Pinudjem I, who celebrated the ceremony of her burial, probably few years later. Also his wife, Henuttawy, daughter of King Ramesses XI <sup>30</sup> died in the early years of Psusennes I at the latest. Maatkare, probably the eldest of Pinudjem I's children, outlived her parents for a decade or two, but she certainly died still during the long reign of Psusennes I, and the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre, brother of the King;
- Pap. Cairo 46: on the owner's mummy mummy-braces with the name of Menkheperre, in cartouche, were found; the cartouche hints at the last few years of Menkheperre's pontificate <sup>31</sup>;

<sup>26</sup> Unpublished; the information about this has been found in the inventory card of this papyrus in the Louvre, and I owe this to Dr. L. de Cenival.

<sup>27</sup> Nagel 1929, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Information derived from the docket on the coffin of Amenhotep I; cf. Maspero 1889a, p.537.

<sup>29</sup> Miwiński 1988, § 39.

<sup>30</sup> *op. cit.*, § 37.

<sup>31</sup> *op. cit.*, § 41.

- Papyri Cairo 51, 90 and 98: mummy-braces and mummy-linen found on the mummies of the possessors of these papyri bear the names of the HP Pinudjem II and the King Amenemope;
- Pap. Cairo 9: mummy-linen found on the mummy, to which the papyrus belonged, gives the date: Year 12 and the pontiff's name: HP Psusennes; most probably the date concerns the reign of King Siamun;
- Papyri: Berlin 12 and London 31: the coffins of their owners belong to type II-a, and this dates to the early and middle 21st Dynasty <sup>32</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 106 is connected with a coffin of type II-b, used briefly in the middle 21st Dynasty (last years of the HP Menkheperre and early pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II <sup>33</sup>;
- Pap. Leiden 1 and Leiden 1 bis is connected with a coffin of the type II-c, used in the middle 21st Dyn. (pontificates of the HP Menkheperre and Pinudjem II) <sup>34</sup>;
- Pap. Paris 15 can be indirectly dated to the late 21st Dyn. from the style of the coffin (of the III-a type), in use in the middle and late 21st Dynasty <sup>35</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 19 was connected with a IV-b type coffin, in use in the middle and the late 21st Dynasty <sup>36</sup>.

From the above data it can be concluded that the BD.II.1-type as a formal continuation of the papyri of the earlier period, were used in Thebes already in the earliest 21st Dyn., and it was still present, in parallel to other types, in the late 21st Dynasty. It probably disappeared during the pontificate of the HP Psusennes, and did not outlive the 21st Dyn. On 5 papyri of this type the title pry m hrw was recorded; in ensembles with the A-papyri 10 manuscripts of this type occurred.

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<sup>32</sup> op. cit., § 67.

<sup>33</sup> op. cit., § 68.

<sup>34</sup> op. cit., § 69.

<sup>35</sup> op. cit., § 71.

<sup>36</sup> op. cit., § 75.

B - Type BD.II.2 of the papyri (Pls. 11a - 20b)

§ 45.

The papyri of this type can be distinguished from the following characteristics:

- The etiquette is always placed at the right end of papyrus;
- Texts are written in hieratic, or partially in hieroglyphic and partially in hieratic script, and they are illustrated;
- The text plays an important role, and the figures are, in most cases only illustrations. Vignettes can be, however, sometimes the only representative of certain of the BD-chapters, without any additional text;
- The texts and the vignettes represent the well-known chapters of the traditional corpus of the Book of the Dead, sometimes with atypical variations.

To this type 11 papyri have been ascribed, which makes 5,6% of the whole BD-category. Two distinct papyri of the group, belonging to the sister (pap. Cairo 32) and the wife (pap. Cairo 109) of the HP Pinudjem II have been so far published<sup>37</sup>. Most of the papyri of this group, in respect of style of the handwriting, the repertoire of the BD-chapters and the execution of the vignettes, form a "family" originating probably from the same workshop, where the same model-papyri were used<sup>38</sup>. It has been observed that the repertoire and sequence of the pap. Cairo 32 and its derivatives (as to the occurrence of the particular BD-chapters on the papyri of this type, cf. TABLE X)<sup>39</sup> are very similar to those of the

<sup>37</sup> Naville 1912, pp.20-38, pls.XI-XXX (pap. Cairo 109); id., 1914, passim (pap. Cairo 32).

<sup>38</sup> There is perhaps one such papyrus preserved in Berlin, P.3051 (our pap. Berlin B). This non-illustrated manuscript written both on recto and on verso in an atypical way (parallelly to the shorter side of the roll) contains the BD 133, 136A, 134, 1, 72, 2, 3, 65 and 92. This sequence exactly repeats a fragment of the text in the pap. London BM 10064 (pap. London 49), where a date: Year 5 of Amene-mope occurs. The pap. Berlin is in preparation for a publication by Dr. Albertyna Dembska from the University of Warsaw, and the idea that the papyrus might have been a model-papyrus is her own hypothesis presented in form of a lecture in Warsaw in 1987.

<sup>39</sup> The sequence of the chapters has been published for the following papyri: Cairo 32 (Naville 1914, pp.1-5), Cairo

pap. London 63 of Pinudjem II (the type BD.I.2), and those of the pap. London 61 (of Nesitanebetasheru, the type BD.III.2). The repertoire of the vignettes recalls the hieroglyphic pap. Cairo 116 of the type BD.II.1.

Although belonging to the same group, the pap. Cairo 44 represents a quite atypical arrangement of its contents. After the etiquette the text alone is written on a number of "pages", and behind it, all the vignettes are grouped together in form of figures only (Pls.11-16). Some papyri were written partly in hieroglyphic, partly in hieratic (pap. London 2, 9 and 49); from these, the pap. London 2 (which is well preserved, contrary to the two others) is shown on the Pls. 17-19<sup>40</sup>. The papyri of this type are usually about 4 - 7 m long (the pap. Cairo 32 has 17,94 m in length); an exception presents a short papyrus London 45, containing the BD 149 illustrated with atypical vignettes (Pl.20a-b) In the inventory card of this papyrus in the BM, A. Shorter has written:

"Below the text are added vignettes which are found in the Saitic version of this chapter."

However, the kind of etiquette and the iconographic features of the figure of the deceased point to the late 21st or early 22nd Dyn. It is probable that this papyrus dates in fact from the Third Intermediate Period, and it shows the development of the funerary papyri between the early 22nd Dyn. and the "Saitic redaction" of the Book of the Dead.

In order to date the papyri of the BD.II.2 type, the following data can be considered helpful:

- Papyri Cairo 32 and 109 belong to the next-of-kin of the HP Pinudjem II: his sister Gatseshen and his wife Nesikhons, respectively. Gatseshen died under the reign of Amenemope, since the mummy-braces of this King have been found on her mummy. The burial of Nesikhons took place in the Year 5 of Siamun<sup>41</sup>;

109 (Naville 1912, pp.25-38), London 2 (Naville 1886, p.68 = "Aw"; Shorter 1938, p.2), London 9 (Naville, op. cit., p. 66 = "Ar"; Shorter, op. cit., p.3), London 49 (Shorter, op. cit., pp. 7-9), Paris 44 (Devéria 1874, pp.86-87).

<sup>40</sup> As to the technical aspects of the executing of this papyrus, cf. the § 35. above.

<sup>41</sup> The date recorded in a protocol-inscription on a wall of the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari; Maspero 1889a, pp. 520-521, fig.2.

- pap. London 49 gives exceptionally precise information in the text itself, in form of the date: "Year 5, Month 3, Day 7 under the Majesty of the Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemope." This date was recorded after the text of the papyrus had been finished (the vignettes on the manuscript were made earlier), and it is most valuable chronological information in our disposal <sup>42</sup>;
- Papyri Cairo 14 and Cairo 44: on the mummies of their owners mummy-braces with the name of the HP Pinudjem II have been found;
- Pap. Cairo 61: on the mummy of its owner mummy-linen inscribed with the names of King Amenemope and the HP Pinudjem II were discovered.

The above data lead to a conclusion that the type BD.II.2 was introduced in the middle 21st Dynasty, during the reign of King Amenemope. The type can be interpreted, as it appears, as transitory between the hieroglyphic illustrated manuscripts of the Book of the Dead (type BD.II.1), and the non-illustrated hieratic papyri with the etiquettes, of the type BD.I.2. Therefore, the type might have disappeared after a relatively short period of the use (of about 20 years), under the reign of Siamun. Although similar in the contents, the BD-papyrus of Nesikhons, Pinudjem II's wife (Cairo 109) still represents the type BD.II.2, while that of Pinudjem II himself (pap. London 63) belongs already to the new type of the hieratic manuscripts of the BD.I.2-type. The dates of the burials of these two persons are separated with a space of 5 years only (Years 5 and 10 of Siamun).

On one papyrus of this group (pap. Cairo 44) the title pry m hrw was recorded. Four papyri possess their counterparts in the A-category. Besides, three manuscripts occurred in the funerary ensembles together with hieratic non-illustrated papyri of another type (cf. the § 64 below).

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<sup>42</sup> Shorter, op. cit., p. 7

4. The BD-papyri of the new redaction of the 21st Dynasty  
(the emphasis laid on figural representations)

A - The figural hieroglyphic papyri (Type BD.III.1)

a. Subtype BD.III.1a (Pls. 21 - 29)

§ 46.

The following characteristics of the papyri ascribed to this subtype can be distinguished:

- The etiquette or substitute-etiquette is, with few exceptions, placed at the right end of the papyrus, and the direction of the reading is from the right to the left;
- The texts are written in hieroglyphs arranged in vertical columns; in some papyri retrograde writing was used, while in other manuscripts normal writing occurs. There are also papyri, in which both writings occur at the same time;
- The etiquette and the vignettes are painted with various colours; the bordering ornament is often coloured, too;
- The papyri contain for the most part BD-chapters, however, new iconographic compositions, not known from the traditional repertoire of the Book of the Dead often accompany "classical" BD-illustrations. These compositions were created at the dawn of the 21st Dynasty;
- The quantity of figural representations exceeds that of the texts. Some papyri recall very much the manuscripts of the BD.II.1-type, they belong here, however, because the number of the BD-chapters represented in them by the sole vignettes surpasses that of the chapters represented by texts (with or without illustrations).

To the subtype BD.III.1a, 31 papyri have been ascribed, which makes 15,97% of all the manuscripts of the BD-category listed in Part Two of this work. From these, 8 papyri have been completely, and further 4 papyri partly published <sup>43</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Lanzzone 1882, pl.163 (pap. London 30), Budge 1899 (pap. London 58), Nagel 1929, passim (pap. Paris 38), Piankoff 1936, passim (pap. Paris 9), Piankoff and Rambova 1957, papyri nos 1 and 15 (pap. Cairo 91 and 116), Monnet Saleh 1970, p.165, no 885 (pap. Zagreb 3), Lipińska 1982, pp.137-142; partly published papyri: Dresden 1 (Wenig and Raumschüssel 1977, fig. 36-38, and cover), New York 13 (Winlock 1930, pp.19-28, figs 27-32; Dorman 1984, p.45 and the cover),

The most striking feature of these papyri is the high percentage of the figural representations; the texts distinctly play secondary role, although they were sometimes copied from good patterns recalling the BD-papyri of the earlier period <sup>44</sup>. On TABLE XI various patterns of the arrangement of the vignettes and texts in the papyri of this subtype are shown, which can be compared with those on TABLE VIII, in order to see the difference between the types BD.II.1 and BD.III.1. The contents of particular manuscripts is registered on TABLE XII. Similarly to the papyri of the BD.II.1-type, among those belonging to the subtype under discussion, several "families", or groups of the papyri of analogous contents can be distinguished, being probably reflection of the origin of these papyri from the same workshop, where the same patterns of texts and scenes were used.

One such "family" comprises the papyri: Cairo 20, 37, 45, 67, 125, Chicago 1, London 4 and Paris 3. The etiquettes of 5 papyri from these, comprise, besides the typical scene of the adoration of Osiris, a supplementary solar scene (cf. Pls. 25c, 26a, and Fig.18). This scene seems to be an illustration to the BD 130, which is written in a number of vertical columns behind the etiquette (Pl.26b). The texts found in the papyri in question are very corrupt and they are recorded in abbreviated form. However, we can learn from them that the original archetype-text of the chapter 130 might have been longer than that recorded in the pap. Leiden 2, from which Naville has copied it <sup>45</sup>. On TABLE XIII a synoptic comparison of four versions of the rubric of the BD 130, from the papyri

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Richmond (Brown 1973, pp.42-43, no 42), Turin 1 (Lanzzone 1882, pl.5). Individual scenes have been published by Romano 1979, pp.160-161, fig.135 (pap. Luxor 1) and Heerma van Voss 1982a, pp.11-12, pl.12 (pap. Leiden 3).

<sup>44</sup> In consequence, some of them (pap. Cairo 86, Leiden 3, London 58, Vienna 2) have been dated by various scholars to the Ramesside period, cf. Naville 1886, p.94 ("Ld"); Seeber 1976, pp. 203-204 (no 5 and 13); Luft 1977a, p.69 (nos 20, 21, 24); Munro 1988, pp.296-297 (nos 3,4,7); cf. also the Chapter III, note 14 above.





<sup>45</sup> Naville 1886, pls. 143-144 (="Lc").



Fig. 18

Leiden 2 (type BD.II.1), Cairo 67 and London 4 (type BD.III.1), and Cairo 117 (type A.III.2) is presented. This small sample of the textual material from the papyri of the 21st Dynasty, as well as the fact of the occurrence of the so far unknown chapters <sup>46</sup>, seem to indicate that a research into the Book of the Dead of the 21st Dynasty would probably bring interesting philological results, and such a study should be undertaken in the future.

Close to the corrupt text of the BD 130, the purification scene is usually presented in the papyri of the group under discussion. This scene, which has provisionally been called

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the § 44 above. It should be also hinted at some unknown forms of the hieroglyphs used in the texts (for example  as an ideogram for shmty , cf. TABLE XIII), as well as at atypical writing of some words (for instance   for R'-st'w, occurring in the Havana papyrus; this version has so far been regarded as Ptolemaic one, cf. WB II 398).



"BD 195", is sometimes accompanied by a text, which undoubtedly echoes the ritual of purification<sup>47</sup>. The scene of purification was first attached to the chapter BD 110, already in the 18th Dyn. papyri. In the 21st Dyn. it became, as it appears, an independent "chapter", which was placed sometimes near the "solar" chapters (like the above-discussed BD 130 in the "family" of the papyri; cf. also pap. Cairo 91<sup>48</sup>), sometimes in vicinity of BD 125/126 (cf. Fig. 17), or elsewhere. The BD-chapters 125/126, 149/150 and 110, usually in purely figural form, complete the typical repertoire of this group of papyri.

Another small "family" of the papyri made in the same workshop, or even executed by the same artist, is composed of the pap. Cairo 118, Paris 9 and Turin 4. Two of these have been already published<sup>49</sup>.

The pap. Cairo 126 consists, above all, of the motives of the introduction of the deceased into the Underworld, and here an echo of the central motive of the Judgement scene from the BD 125 can be probably seen. This chapter, representing at the same time the BD 30B, is without any doubt, the most common within the BD.III.1-type; it is found on 24 papyri (from among 32). In 11 papyri it is supplemented with the scene called "the BD-chapter 126"; in the pap. Turin 1 this scene alone represents the whole theme. The motives of the "Fields of Offerings" of the BD 110 are encountered on 19 manuscripts; various solar scenes (not counting the "solar" etiquettes) occur 15 times. The scene of purification ("BD 195") is represented in 11 papyri, and the motives of the BD-chapters 149/150 appear 10 times. Other chapters represented on more than 3 manuscripts are following: the group of the spells concerning the visiting of the holy towns (BD 108-109, 111-116) - in 6 papyri; the BD 86 - 6 papyri; the BD 77/78 - 5 papyri; the scenes representing the BD 144-147 - 5 papyri; the BD 148, 186 and "194" - 4 papyri each.

<sup>47</sup> Bonnet, Reinigung, in RÄRG; Otto, Mundöffnungsritual, vol. II, pp. 38ff.

<sup>48</sup> Piankoff and Rambova 1957, "pap. no. 1".

<sup>49</sup> Pap. Paris 9 published by Piankoff 1936; pap. Cairo 118 published by Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., "pap. no. 15".

It can be, therefore, observed that the number of the chapters represented in the figural BD-papyri is much limited. Other spells and vignettes, however, existed as before, in the model-papyri used by the Theban workshops of the 11th-10th century B.C., and they were sporadically copied, too. Thus we find the BD 141/3 in the pap. Leiden 3, the BD 182 in the pap. Luxor 1 (Fig. 19), or the BD 137A in the pap. Paris 9 (Fig. 20).

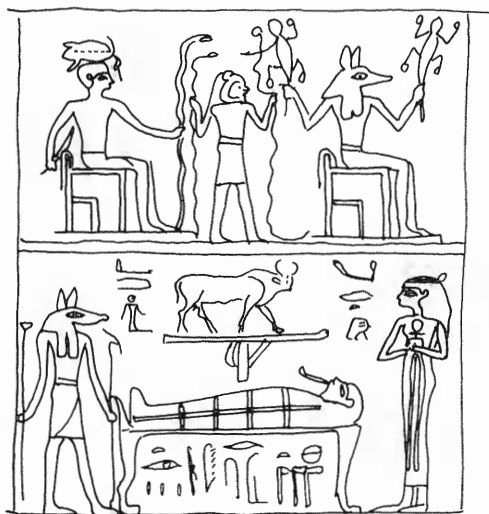


Fig. 19



Fig. 20

Some chapters evidently, took over the function of other ones, representing the same or similar subject. For example, from the "chapters of transformations" BD 77-78 and 86 played the leading role. The latter Spell for being transformed into a swallow itself underwent a change, and it is sometimes illustrated not by one swallow, as before, but by two. In the pap. Cairo 81 two identical birds perching on the mounds are called "souls of Isis and Nephthys", while in the pap. Cambridge they have different shapes (Fig.21); the chapter is entitled

but it contains a different text from that of the BD 86.

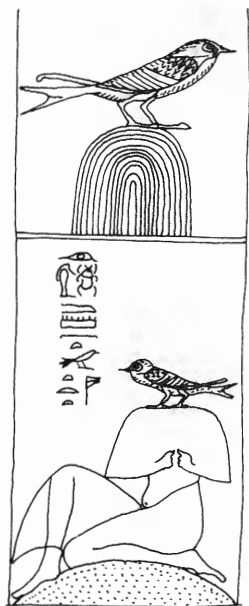


Fig. 21

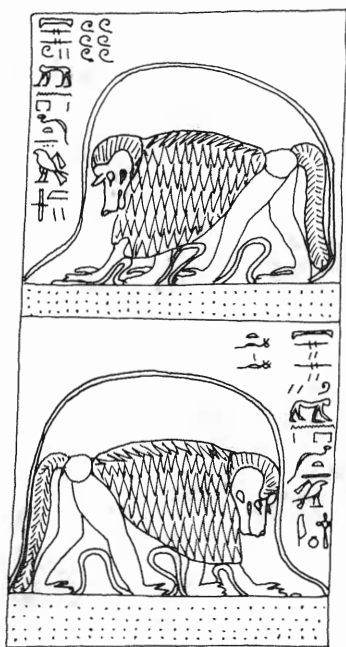



Fig. 22

In the same most interesting papyrus another unknown chapter is recorded:  which is illustrated with the vignette representing two apes, each trampling an (inimical) serpent (Fig. 22).

It is fair to say that the iconography of the vignettes to the "old" chapters reached its apex under the 21st Dynasty.

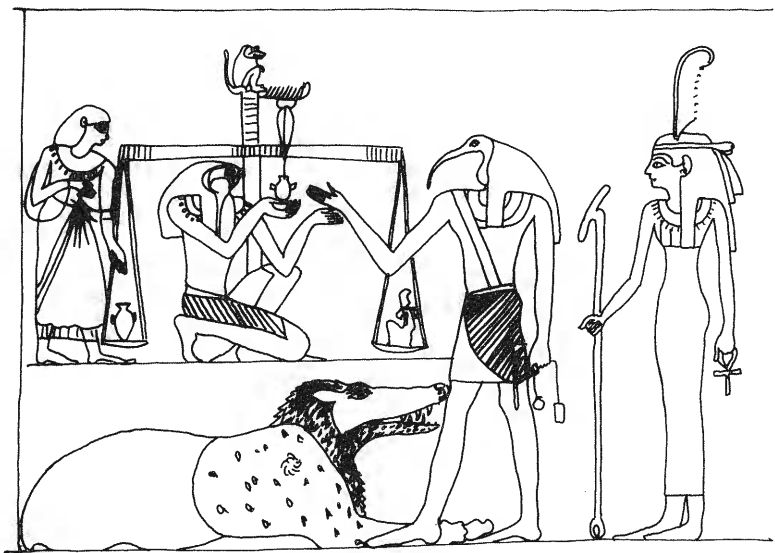


Fig. 23

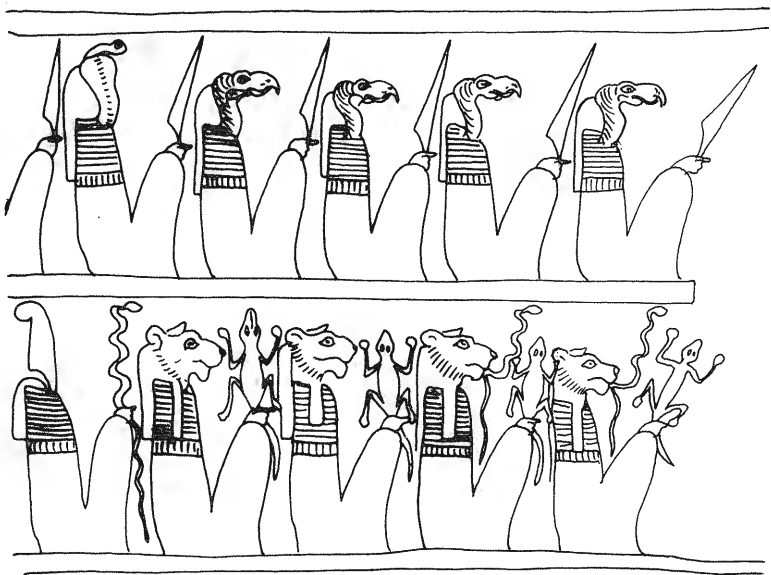


Fig. 24

The creativity of the Theban artists of the period expressed itself in a great number of figural variations of the same theme, each papyrus being, practically, a unique combination of the motives, even within the same "family", or series of papyri. The development of the iconographic qualities in the 21st Dynasty has been already observed in a conclusion to the study of the Judgement of the Dead-scene<sup>50</sup>. Figures 14, 23 and 24 present some interesting details of the illustrations to BD 125 found in the papyri of the BD.III.1-type. Osiris as the supreme judge can be sometimes replaced by his solar counterpart-aspect, as a scene in the pap. Cairo 67 shows (Fig.25, pl. 27a). The new solar motives in the papyri of this type

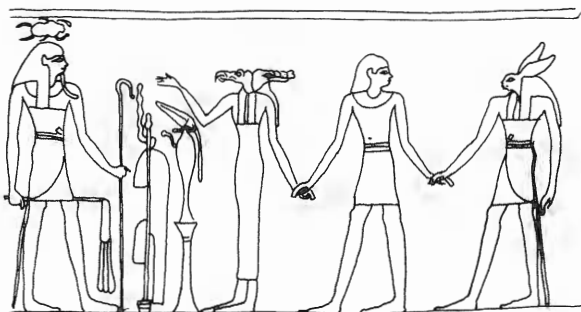


Fig. 25

make a very ample group, comprising both simple scenes (Fig. 26a-b), and more complicated ones (Figs. 20, 27, 28). Sometimes the solar motives are combined in these with other illustrations, as two examples from the Cambridge papyrus show (Figs. 28 and 29). The former one presents the combination with the BD 126, while the latter - with the BD 110. The last-mentioned chapter belonged to the most common. While in most papyri the traditional composition in a rectangular frame appears (Pls. 16a, 24b), atypical arrangements are also encountered; in the pap. Turin 1 the scene of the BD 110 takes the major part of the whole papyrus surface (cf. TABLE XI d and the Fig. 30).

<sup>50</sup> Seeber 1976, p.196.

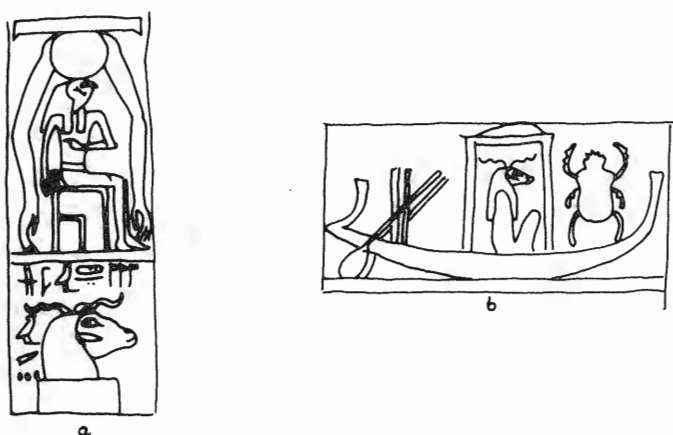


Fig. 26

To the illustrations which became most popular in the 21st Dynasty, and which often were painted, especially on the coffins (cf. Fig. 6), belongs the vignette to the BD 186 with the Hathor cow (Pl. 25b). Another two versions of this scene from the papyri Havana (Fig. 31) and Cairo 81 are worth reproducing here. The latter papyrus presents an atypical combination of this scene with the figure of "Re, Father of the Gods" (Fig. 32). In the same papyrus (Cairo 81) the final scene in two registers is interesting: the deceased prostrates himself

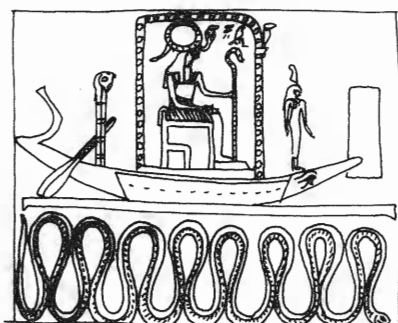


Fig. 27

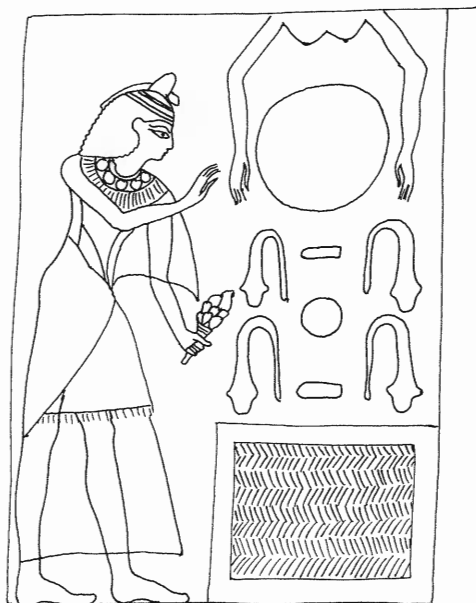


Fig. 28

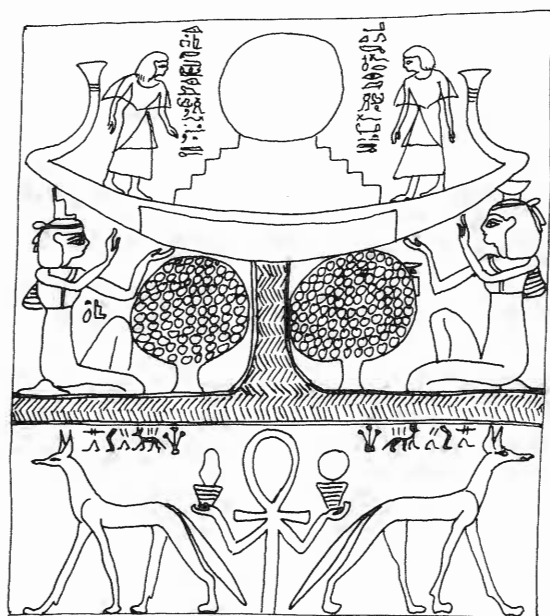


Fig. 29





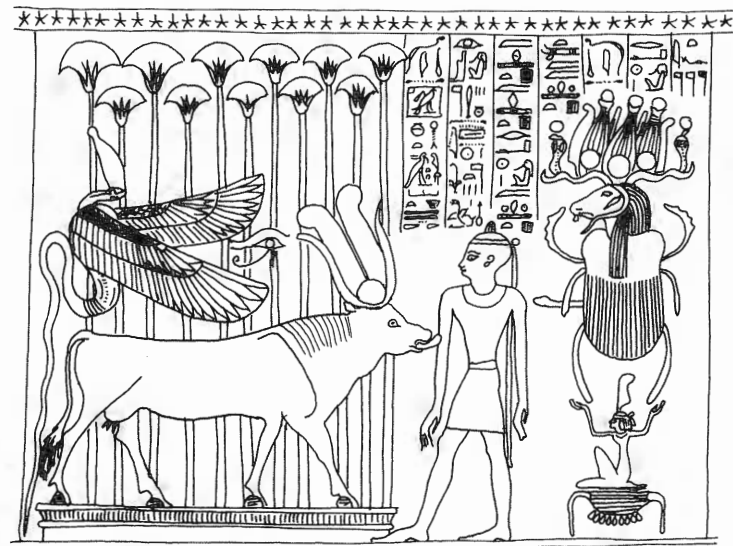


Fig. 32

ased kneeling in front of a sacred ram on a chapel makes the hnw-gesture; between him and the chapel, four mrt-chests are represented (Fig. 33). The presence of the mrt-chests points

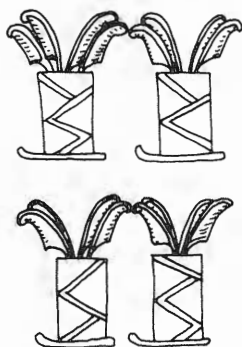


Fig. 33

to a ritual that was reflected in the scene<sup>52</sup>. Scenes of various rituals occur on a number of the coffins of the 21st Dyn., and also on papyri. There is a scene alluding to the hb-sd-ritual in the pap. Cairo 67 (Fig. 34, Pl. 27a). It seems feasible that also the illustrations called in this work provisionally "BD 194" may reflect a similar (or the same?) ritual, some culminant ceremonies of which were portrayed by the artists of the 21st Dyn. and introduced into the funerary iconography. The scene with

Osiris lying on the bier found on the 21st Dyn. papyri and

<sup>52</sup> A. Egberts, Consecrating the Meret-chests. Some reflections on an Egyptian Rite, *passim* (the dissertation prepared at the University Leiden; a paper on the subject was read in 1985 in Munich during the IVth Intern. Egyptol. Congress).

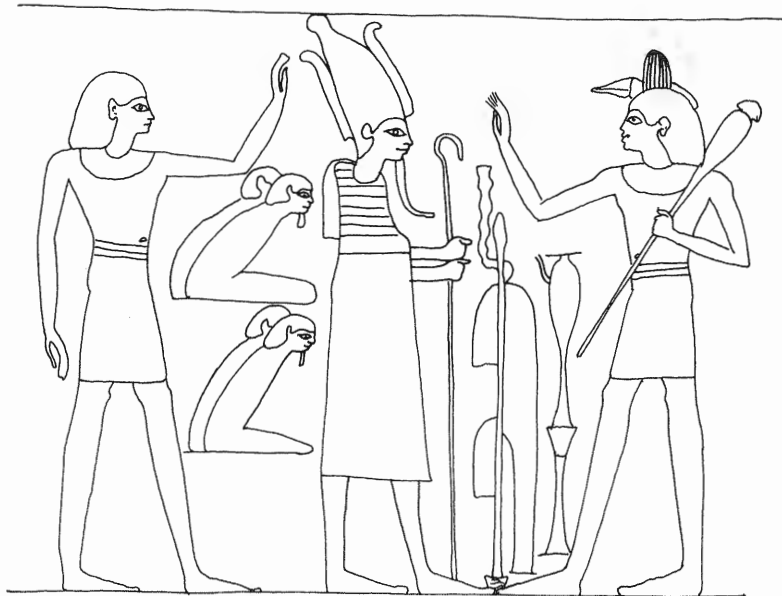


Fig. 34

coffins also has a ritual and, at the same time, mythical meaning. Four versions of this scene are exemplified on the Fig. 35 (pap. New York 13), Fig. 36 (pap. Dresden 1), Fig. 37 (pap. Cairo 77), and Fig. 38 (pap. Cairo 69). The two last-mentioned papyri belong to the second subtype of BD.III.1.

On the manuscripts of BD.III.1a-type new theological compositions can also be found, which were created at the dawn of the 21st Dynasty, first of all intended to be painted on the walls of the coffins (cf. § 21. above).

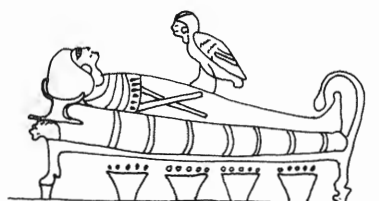


Fig. 35



Fig. 36

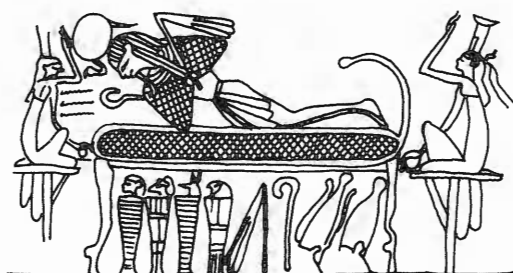


Fig. 37

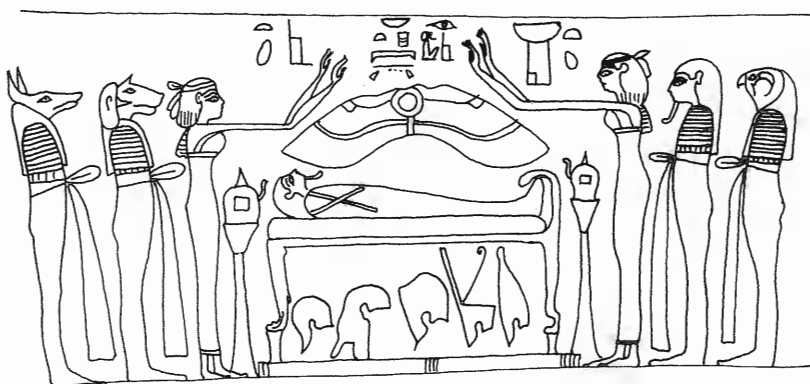


Fig. 38

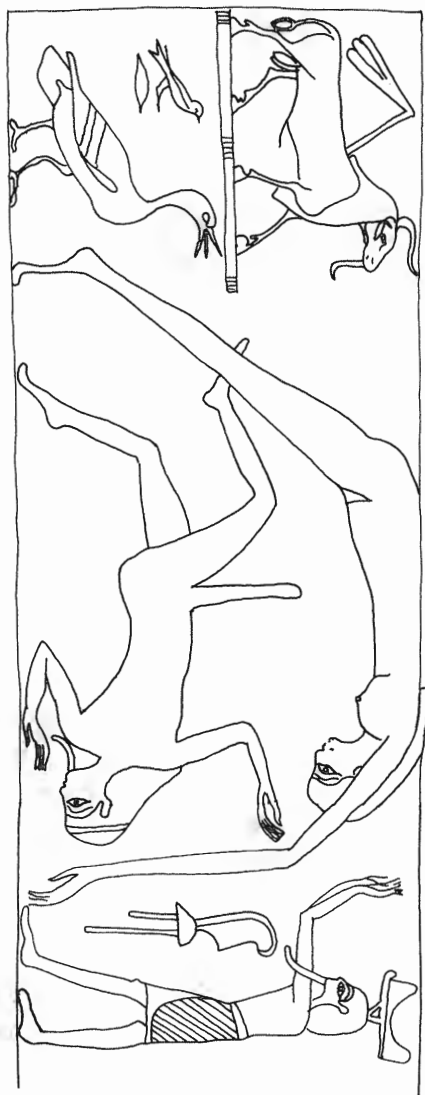


Fig. 39

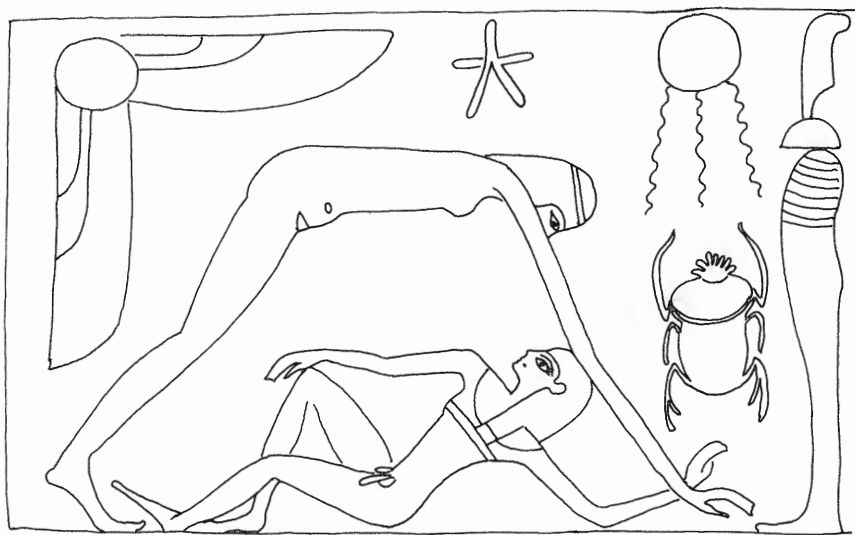


Fig. 40

The Figures 39 (pap. London 30) and 40 (pap. Paris 49) present two versions of the cosmogonically-cosmological scene with the Geb and Nut from the papyri of the 80.III.1a-type. Complicated solar compositions appear on the pap. Paris 9 (Fig. 41).

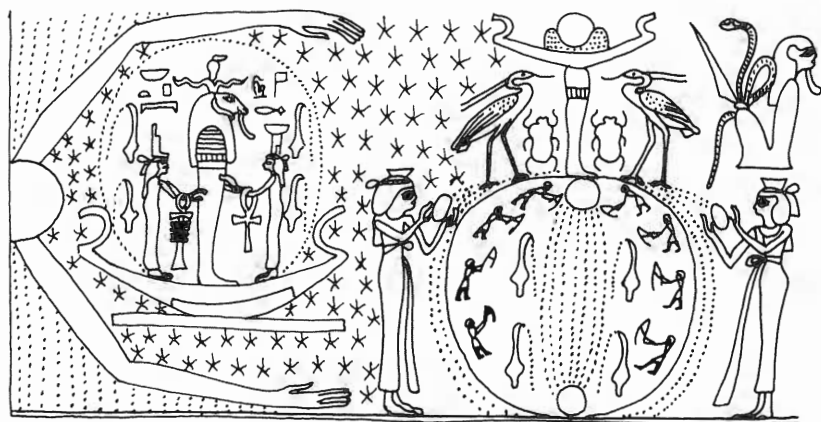


Fig. 41

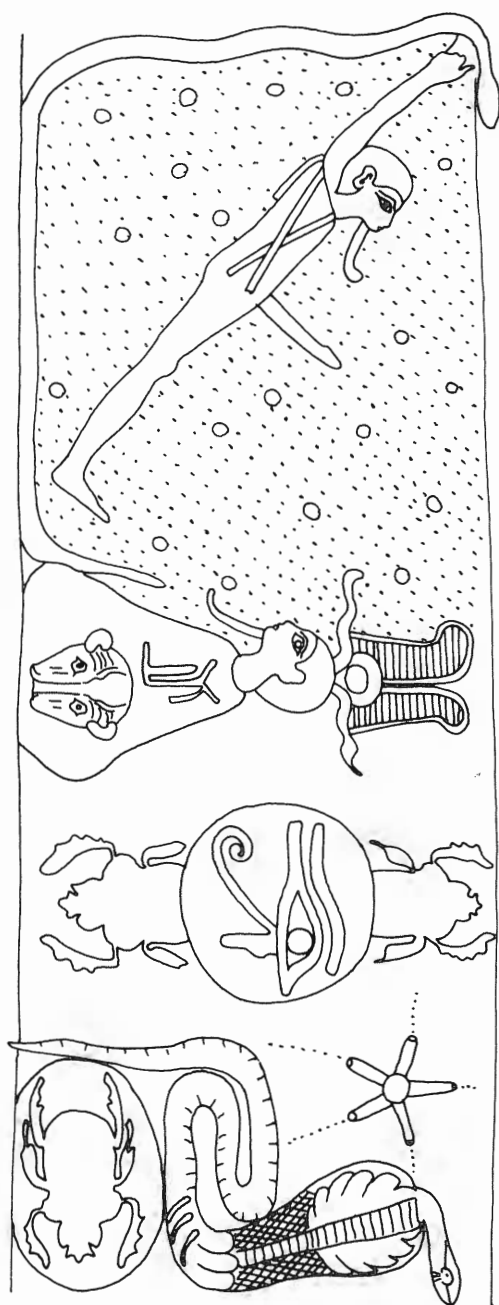


Fig. 42

More difficult for interpretation is the scene on the Richmond papyrus (Fig. 42). This scene is partly analogous with one painted in the tomb of the King Ramesses IX in the Valley of the Kings. The royal tombs were for the most part decorated with the motives of the Books of the Underworld. The Richmond papyrus should, therefore, from this point of view, be classified to the A-category rather than to the BD-category. However, a distinct title pry m hrw behind the etiquette leaves no room for doubt what the papyrus represented to the ancient Egyptian artist who made it. Similarly, the papyrus of Anhai (London 58) belongs to the Book of the Dead, although last two scenes on it derive from the Books of the Underworld (the last scene is the final composition of the Book of the Gates<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 43).

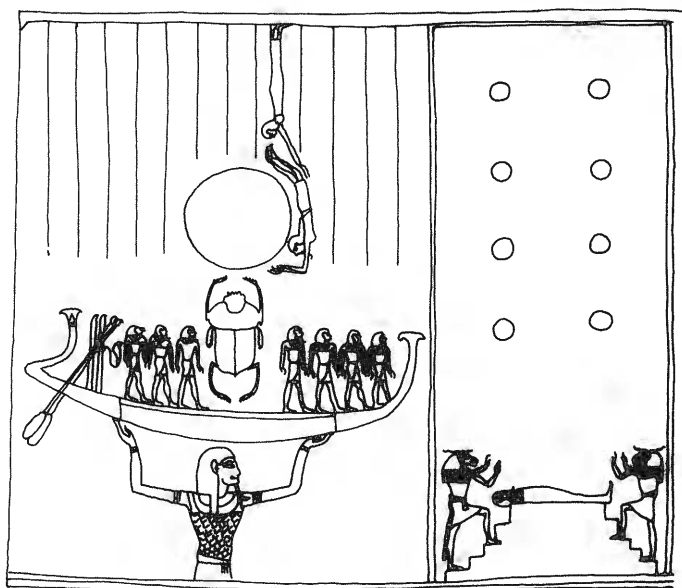


Fig. 43

The given examples prove that some papyri of the type BD.III.1

<sup>53</sup> Hornung 1987-1984, pp.289-292; id., 1981, pp.217-218; cf. also Miwiński 1983a, pp.79-83, fig.4.

experienced the influence from the part of another category of funerary manuscripts: the A-papyri. In some circumstances, maybe only in one or two workshops, and as a result of non-ability of the craftsmen employed there, the funerary manuscripts of both categories were given analogous contents, and only traditionally, in order to distinguish the two kinds of papyri, they were designated with different titles. In consequence, in some BD-papyri there are scenes, which had not originally belonged to the Book of the Dead, and vice versa, among the A-category some papyri exist that exclusively consist of the BD-motives. Generally speaking, however, these difficulties concern only a limited number of the funerary manuscripts.

To the BD.III.1a-type the following papyri belong which are connected with some chronological data:

- Pap. New York 13 belonged to Many, a daughter of the HP Herihor. The burial of Many took probably place under the pontificate of the HP Masaharti, together with the re-burial of Merytamun, King Amenhotep I's daughter. On the mummy of Meritamun mummy-linen with Masaharti's name have been found;
- Pap. Turin 1 belonged to Nebhepet, son of the Scribe of Necropolis Butehamon, known from the letters of the period of the HP Piankh. Two graffiti with the name of Nebhepet and the dates: Year 20 and 21 (certainly of the King Smendes), when the scribe Nebhepet was active, make the terminus ante quem non for the papyrus<sup>54</sup>;
- Papyri Cairo 81, 86, 125, Chicago 2 and Luxor 1: mummy-braces of the HP Pinudjem II have been found on their owners' mummies. The pap. Cairo 81 belonged to Tjanefer, brother of the HP Pinudjem II and son of the HP Menkheperre. On the mummy of Userhatmes, owner of the pap. Cairo 86, mummy-linen with the dates: Year 48 of Menkheperre, and: Year 1 (certainly of Amenemope) were discovered. Mummy-linen produced under the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre originate also from the mummies of the owners of the pap. Cairo 125 and Luxor 1;

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<sup>54</sup> These are graffiti nos 1337 and 1359; cf. Cerný, Graffiti Hiéroglyphiques et Hieratiques..., Cairo 1956, pp.22 and 24.



- Pap. Cairo 67: from its owner's mummy, bandages with the inscriptions comprising the names of the HP Pinudjem II and the Kings: Amenemope and Siamun, as well as the distinct dates: Year 8 and Year 10 of Siamun originate;
- Pap. Cairo 91 belonged to Herytuben, whose mummy has furnished the name of the HP Psusennes, and that of the King Siamun, recorded on the mummy-braces and mummy-bandages. Herytuben was granddaughter of the HP Menkheperre (similarly as Henuttawy, the owner of the papyrus Richmond;
- Pap. Chicago 1: on the mummy of its owner mummy-braces with the name of King Psusennes has been found;
- The papyri Cairo 118, Leiden 3, London 30, Paris 49, as well as the pap. New York 13 and Turin 1 were connected in funerary ensembles with coffins of the type II-a. This type was the earliest in the 21st Dynasty, being the direct continuation of that of the Ramesside coffins, and it went out of use under the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II <sup>55</sup>;
- The papyri Cairo 21, 86 and 126 and Paris 9 belonged to the same funerary ensembles as coffins of the type II-c. This type came into use during the pontificate of Menkheperre, and it lasted till the end of the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II <sup>56</sup>;

To conclude from the above data, the papyri of the subtype RD.III.1a occurred at the dawn of the 21st Dynasty, and it was in the full development in the middle of the Dynasty, till the end of the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II. Later, under Psusennes, they were, however, still in a sporadic use, as the papyri Cairo 67 and Chicago 1 prove (both papyri being analogous to each other in respect of the contents. There is not a single hint at their further use in the 22nd Dynasty.

The title pry m hrw has been found on 9 papyri of this subtype. In the funerary ensembles 18 manuscripts occurred together with the papyri of the A-category.

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<sup>55</sup> Miwiński 1988, § 67.

<sup>56</sup> op. cit., § 69.

## b. Subtype BD.III.1b (pls.30-32)

§ 47.

The papyri of this subtype can be distinguished by the following characteristics:

- The placement of the etiquette or the substitute-etiquette, the direction of the reading of the papyri, and the arrangement of the hieroglyphic texts - are the same as in the subtype BD.III.1a;
- The etiquette and the vignettes are not painted; the figures are only outlined in black lines; in sporadic instances some elements (for example, solar discs, signs of fire) are coloured with red ink. The drawings in various papyri differ in respect of quality of the execution;
- The papyri contain many more figural representations than texts;
- The religious contents of the papyri is analogous to that of the BD.III.1a-papyri; the motives of the BD-chapters are supplemented with some new iconographic compositions, unknown in the New Kingdom.

To this subtype 13 papyri have been ascribed, which makes 6,7% of the whole number of the BD-category papyri listed in this work. Four papyri have already been published<sup>57</sup>. Some patterns of the arrangement of the texts and the vignettes in the manuscripts of the subtype BD.III.1b, as well as the sequence of the BD-chapters occurring in particular papyri are presented on the TABLE XIV. From this, a general conclusion can be drawn, as it appears, that the contents of the papyri of this subtype corresponds to that of the BD.III.1a group.

<sup>57</sup> These are: pap. Cairo 77 (Piankoff and Rambova 1957, "pap. no 18"), pap. Paris 11 (op. cit., "pap. no 13"), pap. Cleveland 2 (Heerma van Voss 1982a, pp.7-8, pls.1-3), pap. loc. unkn. 4 (a photo of this papyrus was first published among the advertising annotations as being offered for purchase in the "Galerie Refer" in Zurich, on one of the supplementary pages in the book Geschenk des Nils. Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz, edited by H. Schlögl, Zurich 1978; it was published for the second time on the occasion of an exhibition in Memphis, Tennessee, by Freed 1983, p.89). A fragment of the pap. loc. unkn. 3 was published by Winlock 1926, p.29, fig. 34.

The preferred BD-chapters are: 125 (9 papyri; in one further manuscript this chapter is represented by the vignette of the Lake of Fire referred to as BD 126), 110 (7 papyri), 149/150 (4 papyri), and the "solar" chapters (3 papyri). In the papyri of this group a number of atypical or new iconographic representations can be found, both simple figures (Figs. 24, 44a-c, 45), and greater scenes (Figs. 16, 37, 38). The complicated

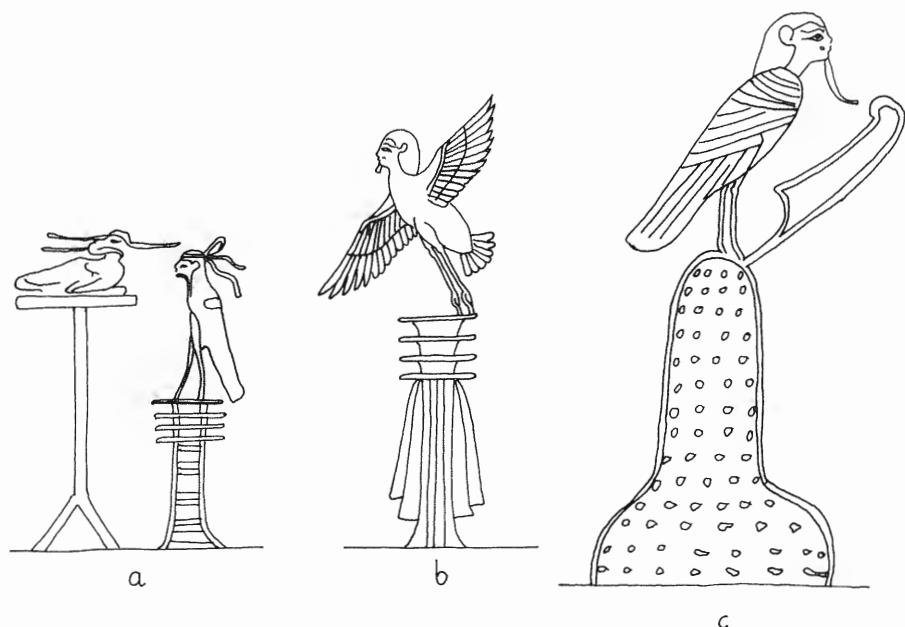


Fig. 44

compositions presented in the Figs 46 and 47 point to substantial connections of some papyri of this type with manuscripts ascribed to the A-category, similarly as it occurs with the papyri of the previous subtype (cf. § 46. above).

The following papyri can be dated through some chronological information gained from the funerary ensembles, to which they had belonged:

- Pap. Cairo 69: on the mummy of its owner, mummy-braces with the names of the King Amenemope and the HP Pinudjem II were found;



Fig. 45

- Pap. Cairo 48: from its funerary ensemble, mummy-braces with the name of the HP Psusennes originate;
- Papyri Cairo 65, 77, 105, and loc. unkn. 3 were connected in their funerary ensembles with coffins of the II-d type. This type was introduced probably in the late pontificate of the HP Menkheperre and lasted until the early years of the HP Psusennes<sup>58</sup>. The pap. Cairo 105 belonged to Ankhefenmut, son of the HP Menkheperre;
- Pap. Cleveland 2 originates from the same ensemble, to which a coffin of the III-a type belonged. This type was introduced parallelly to the type II-d, in the middle 21st Dynasty, and it was used till the end of the Dynasty, or even longer, in the early 22nd Dyn.<sup>59</sup>.

In conclusion, it seems that the earliest papyri ascribed to the type BD.III.1.b appeared under the late pontificate of the HP Menkheperre, and the type was in use at least to the end

<sup>58</sup> Niwiński, op. cit., § 70.

<sup>59</sup> op. cit., § 71.

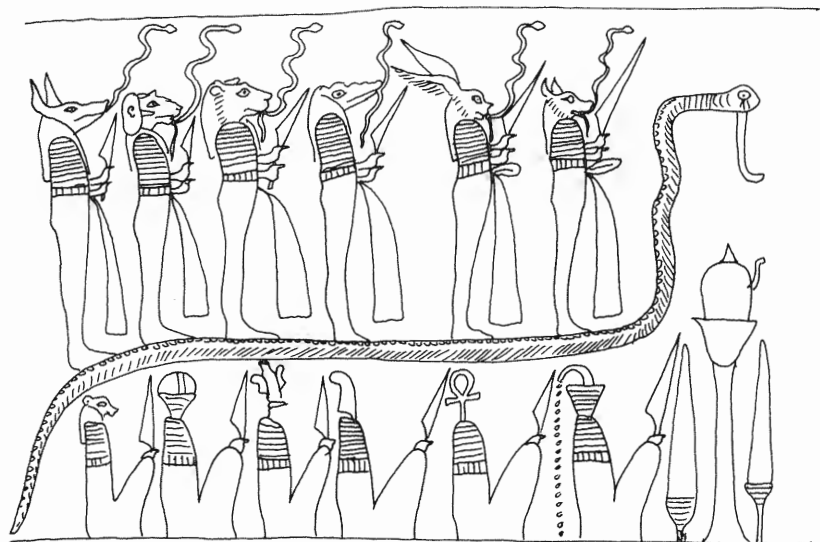


Fig. 46

of the 21st Dynasty.

In the pap. Paris 11 the title pry m hrw was recorded, although in a rather curious version (cf. § 39. above). With funerary manuscripts of the A-category, 7 papyri of this group are connected.

R - The hieratic illustrated papyri of the new redaction  
(type RD.III.2).

§ 48.

To this type only one papyrus has been ascribed: the pap. London 61<sup>60</sup>. It belonged to Nesitanebetasheru, daughter of the HP Pinudjem II and Nesikhons. Nesitanebetasheru's husband, Djedptahiuankh, died under the reign of Sheshonq I; on his mummy the mummy-braces of the HP Iuput and the bandages with dates: Year 5, 10 and 11 have been found. The coffin of Nesitanebetasheru was covered with a layer of bitumen, which reflects a custom in use during the early 22nd Dynasty, probably

<sup>60</sup> Published by Rudge 1912, *passim*.

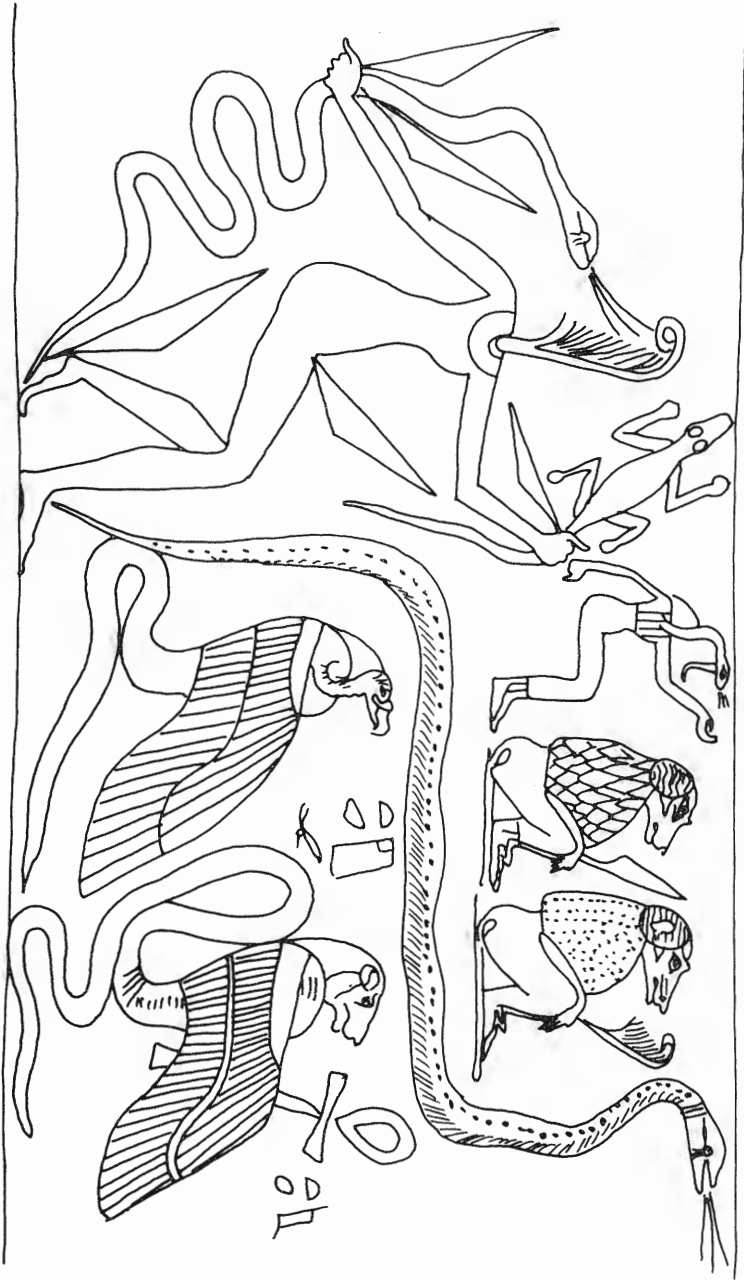


Fig. 47

under the early reign of Osorkon I. Thus, the papyrus London 61 is relatively well dated.

From the viewpoint of its contents, this papyrus remains in a very close relationship with the papyri of the BD.II.2-type, and also with the papyrus of Pinudjem II (pap. London 63) of the BD.I.2 - type. It contains a long series of 87 chapters of the Book of the Dead written in hieratic "pages" of various width. Above the major part of the text there is a long horizontal register of figures traced in black ink by a skilful artist. The vignettes appear mostly with a delay in relation to the text of the relative chapters recorded below; in some places, in order to correct this, instead of the appropriate vignettes (to the chapters written directly below them), repeated illustrations to the BD 17 and BD 125 were drawn. The series of the BD-texts was supplemented with many hymns and litanies, unknown from other sources. The final part of the papyrus consists almost exclusively of vignettes to the BD-chapters 23, 125/126, 110, 144/145 and new figural compositions: the scenes of Geb and Nut, of the Great Serpent on the Double Staircase, and a solar scene. As to the details of the contents of this papyrus, the publication by Budge should be consulted <sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> op. cit., passim.





## Chapter V. Papyri of the t' mḡ't lmy D't - type (A-category)

### 1. Introductory remarks

#### § 49.

The remaining papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. registered in the list of the sources belong (with few exceptions of the so-called U-papyri without illustrations, cf. § 64. below) to the A-category of the funerary manuscripts of the period. The A-papyri constitute about 53% of the total number of the 427 manuscripts considered in this work.

The abbreviation: "A" reflects the modern designation Amduat, which - in turn - derives from the original title (t') mḡ't lmy D't (cf. § 40. above). The term Amduat immediately evokes the title given by Egyptologists to the Script from the Hidden Chamber of the Underworld<sup>1</sup>, encountered in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom in Thebes. In fact, a group of the papyri of the A-category represent copies of the last four divisions of that royal composition. These manuscripts had first been given the name of the Book of What is in Hades<sup>2</sup> (var. in the Inferior Hemisphere<sup>3</sup>, but the designation "Amduat-papyri" has been generally adapted for them in later literature<sup>4</sup>. Chassinat was the first scholar who tried to classify the papyri entitled mḡ't lmy D't, while avoiding an introduction of artificial designations like "mythological papyri". His "small Amduat"<sup>5</sup> being the proposition of a solution of the difficult problem of classification, was an early designation given to a group of papyri similar to each other, which in this work is referred to as the subtype A.III.1a.

<sup>1</sup> The original title of this composition is rendered in the publications by S. Schott, Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie, NAWG 1958, Nr 4, and Hornung, Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes, Wiesbaden 1963-67.

<sup>2</sup> G. Jéquier, Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès. Version abrégée, Paris 1894.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Devéria, Le Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, in: Devéria 1874, pp. 15-48.

<sup>4</sup> Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp. 25-27, 179-200; Sadek 1985, pas.

<sup>5</sup> Chassinat 1903, passim.

However, besides the derivatives of the royal Amduat, and the figural papyri of the type studied by Chassinat, other groups of papyri can also be distinguished, which bear the same title md't imy D't.

One such a group remains in a close formal relation to the Litany of the Sun, another royal composition of the 18th Dyn. The papyri of this group were introduced early in the 21st Dynasty, as the papyrus New York 14 proves (this belonged to Nany, Herihor's daughter)<sup>6</sup>. Consequently, this earliest type of the md't imy D't-papyri is referred to in this work as type A.I. It is subdivided into two subtypes: 1 and 2, owing to some differences in the contents of the papyri ascribed to this group.

The manuscripts comprising faithful copies and their less orthodox derivatives, of the royal Amduat, i.e. the most typical Amduat-papyri (distinguished as a separate category of funerary papyri of the 21st-22nd Dynasties since the early period of Egyptology), form in the present classification the type A.II. Because of a great variety of the versions of the formal composition and the arrangement of the substantial elements used in the particular papyri, three groups of manuscripts have been distinguished within the type. These are, in turn, further subdivided, according to the formal criteria (number of the registers, in which the figural motives are represented, and the degree of the faithfulness of the copy as compared with the archetypal composition).

Finally, the A.III. - type of the papyri comprises all the remaining funerary manuscripts entitled md't imy D't or examples analogous to them. Two subtypes have been distinguished here in order to make the classification more clear. The subtype A.III.1, both in respect of the contents and the formal structure, differs very little from the group BD.III.1 of the papyri, and some manuscripts have been ascribed here only because the title md't imy D't was recorded on them in the ancient workshops. When two analogous papyri belonged to the same funerary ensemble, and one of these was given the title and the characteristic features of a BD-category papyri, the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 21. above.

second one has automatically been ascribed to the A.III-type. Two observations can be, however, applied to the A.III.1 - papyri:

- 1/. They contain, comparing with the BD.III.1-manuscripts, less texts, and sometimes they even consist exclusively of figures, and
- 2/. They comprise relatively more of the complicated new iconographic compositions created in the 21st Dynasty. These compound scenes are often found painted together with illustrations from the Book of the Dead. When title was not given by the scribe, or is missing, the attribution of such a manuscript to the BD.III.1 or to the A.III.1-type must be made by intuition, with regard to analogies with other, already classified papyri.

The figural papyri containing distinct, although transformed, motives of the royal Amduat or other Books of the Underworld, combined with those derived from the Book of the Dead, form the subtype A.III.2.

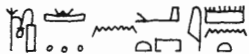
To sum up, any funerary papyrus of the 11th-10th century B.C. can be numbered among the A-category, when one of the following situations occurs:

- 1/. The title md't Imy D't appears on the papyrus;
- 2/. The papyrus contains motives derived from one of the Books of the Underworld, mostly from the Amduat. A degree of the faithfulness of these motives compared to their original edition in the royal tombs can be very different, but this is irrelevant to the purpose of this classification;
- 3/. The whole papyrus or its fragment consists of a series of figures and scenes recalling illustrations to compositions other than Amduat, above all to the Litany of the Sun, or to the Book of the Dead, supplemented or not by other complex iconographic compositions; the texts usually play a secondary role;
- 4/. The papyrus shows strong analogy to another manuscript already classified into this category.

2. The papyri representing forms of the Great God (the so-called Litany of the Sun-papyri)  
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A - Type A.I.1 (Pl.33a)

§ 50.

In Chapter I the historical situation was outlined, in which the occurrence of the second funerary papyrus in the tomb equipment took place in the early 21st Dynasty, or possibly even during the Renaissance Era under Ramesses XI and the HP Herihor (cf. §§ 19-21). The new papyrus was entitled t) mg)t imy D)t, which evokes associations with the modern designation of the royal Script of the Hidden Chamber of the 18th Dynasty . The eschatological idea

of the post-mortem journey and the regeneration in the Underworld was common, to be sure, for all the funerary compositions of the New Kingdom, of royal and non-royal destination, and in this way a relation between the early t) mg)t imy D)t-papyri and the royal Amduat can be, theoretically, concluded. However, during the Renaissance Era the position of the last Ramesside king still alive (Ramesses XI) and the traditional separation of the royal and non-royal funerary beliefs must have always played preponderant role, which excluded, as it appears, a possibility of the generalizing of the religious privileges in form of private Amduat-papyri. It should be stressed here, with some anticipation, that the "proper" Amduat-papyri being faithful copies of the decoration of the sarcophagi chambers of some royal tombs, appeared in Thebes probably during last years of the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre, so almost a century later than the introduction of the first mg)t imy D)t-papyri had taken place. Therefore, the religious sources of the idea of these should be looked for elsewhere.

The most striking resemblance between the form of the early A-papyri and that of the Litany of Re has since long been observed by scholars, and the study culminated in the publication by Piankoff<sup>7</sup>. The Litany, or Book of the Adoration of Re

<sup>7</sup> Piankoff, The Litany of Re, New York 1964, pp. 66-175.



## § 51.

The papyri of the type A.I.1 are characteristic in the following features:

- The etiquette or substitute-etiquette is represented on the right and the direction of the reading of the papyrus is from the right to the left;
- The papyrus is characteristic in the vertical composition. It consists of a varying number of panels (up to 60) containing figures of the forms representing united Osirian-solar aspects of the Great God. Most figures are mummiform in shape, but other figural compositions also appear;
- The figures of the divine forms of Re/Osiris are separated by single or double vertical columns of text containing the names of the creatures, the name of the deceased, and sometimes fragments of an offering formula.

To the A.I.1-type 12 manuscripts have been ascribed, which makes 5,17% of the whole number of the papyri of the A-category. Most of the papyri have already been published<sup>12</sup>. In Pl.33a there is a photograph of the so far unpublished pap. Berlin 26. Thus, only one papyrus of the list remains unpublished (pap. Cairo 53, non exhibited).

The special value of the papyri of the A.I.1-type consists in the iconographic variety of the represented forms of the Great God. A review of some forms, showing unlimited possibilities of the Egyptian creative mind in this respect, is portrayed on the Figs. 48-52. Some figures repeat vignettes of the Book of the Dead (Fig. 53), which let us conclude that here the whole BD-chapters, represented according to the rule pars pro toto by a vignette only, were regarded as forms of the Great God. A further good example of such a figure is furnished by the coffin of a certain Taudjatre; here the Lake of Fire, being illustration to the BD-chapter 125/126 is represented among the figures of the forms of the Great God (Fig. 54). The decoration of this coffin together with some others

<sup>12</sup> Mariette 1871-76, vol.3, pap. no 23, pls.19-21 (pap. Cairo 47); Blackman 1918, pp.24-35, pls.3-4 (pap. Oxford 3); Piankoff 1964, pp.66-175 (pap. Cairo 33, 42, 62, 122, London 28, 32, New York 14 and Paris 8).

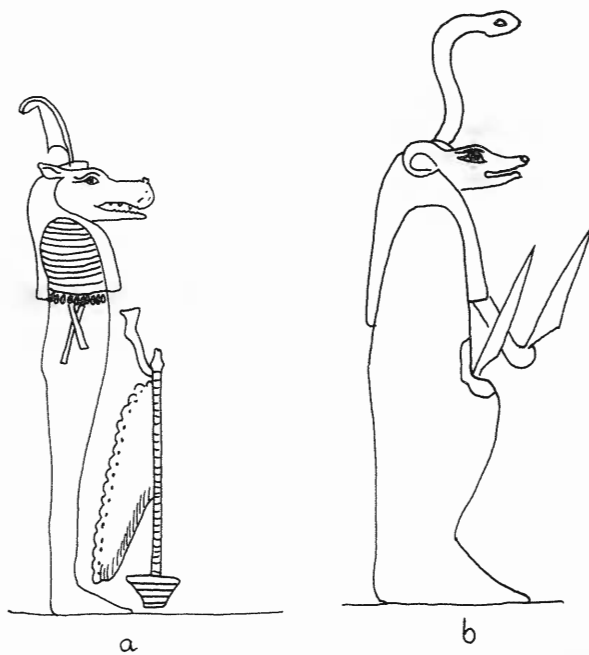


Fig. 48

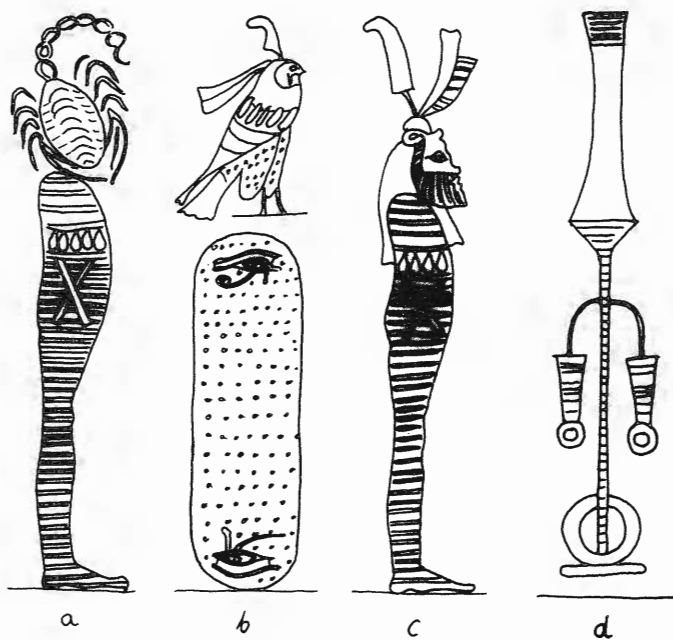


Fig. 49

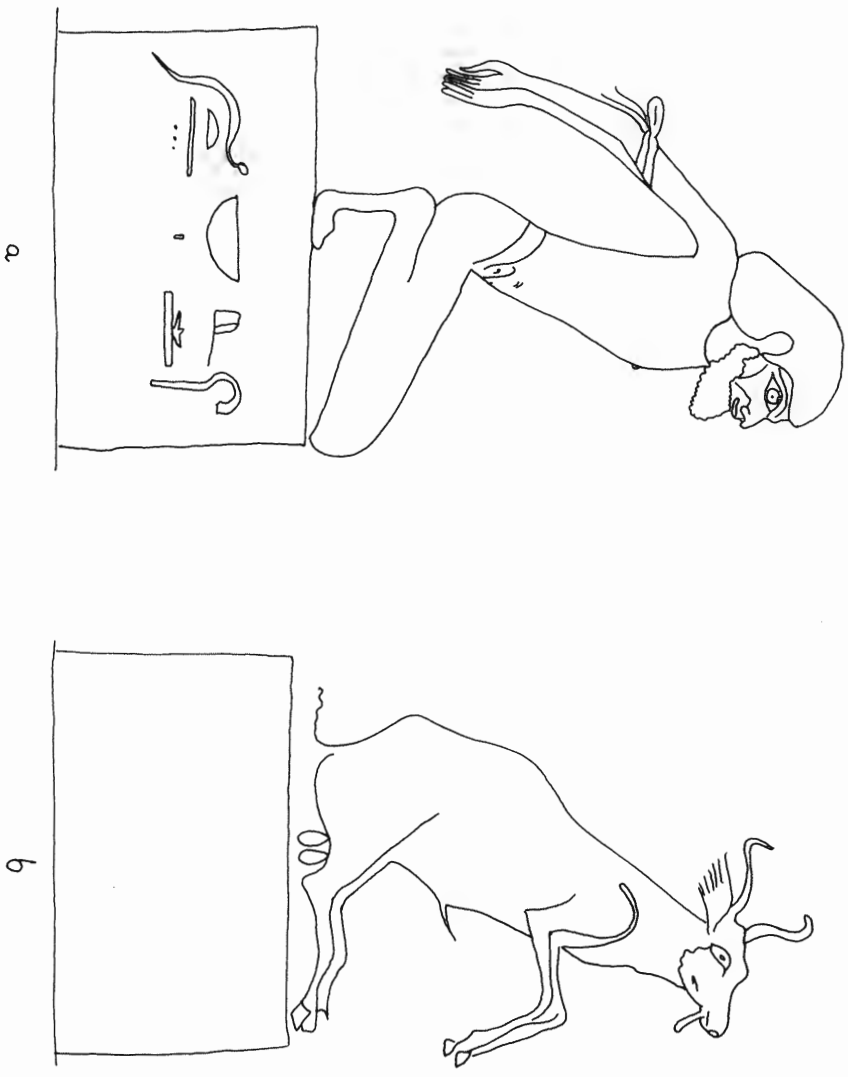


Fig. 50



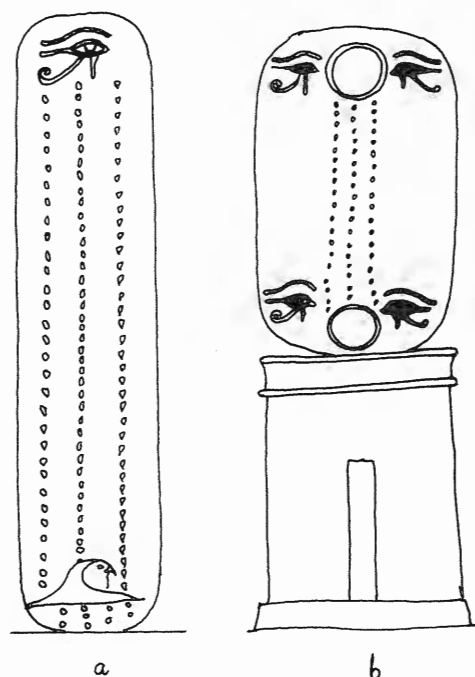


Fig. 51

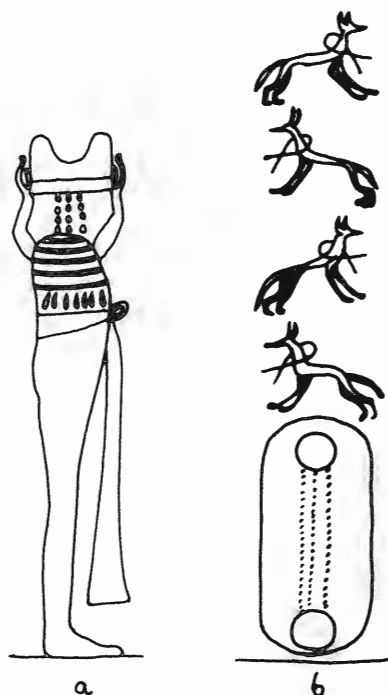


Fig. 52

(like the coffin of Butehamun in Turin, and the coffin of Hatshepsut in Grenoble <sup>13</sup>) recalls the repertoire of the papyri of the A.I.1-type (among them the papyrus of Taudjatre, Cairo 122, is counted, too).

Six papyri of this type have the title mg<sup>3</sup>t imy D<sup>3</sup>t distinctly recorded and were found in the funerary ensembles together with the BD-manuscripts. The following papyri can be dated through some auxiliary chronological information:

- Pap. New York 14 belonged to Many, Herihor's daughter. Her burial took place under the pontificate of the HP Masaharti (cf. § 46. above);
- Pap. Cairo 47 belonged to Henuttawy, daughter of King Ramesses XI and wife of the HP Pinudjem I;
- Pap. Cairo 42: its owner died under the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre (stamps on the mummy-braces);

<sup>13</sup> Lanzone 1882, pls.246-250; Kueny and Yoyotte 1979, p.85.

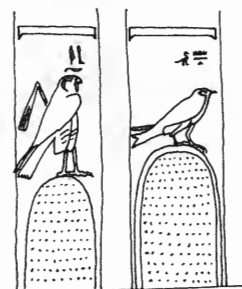


Fig. 53

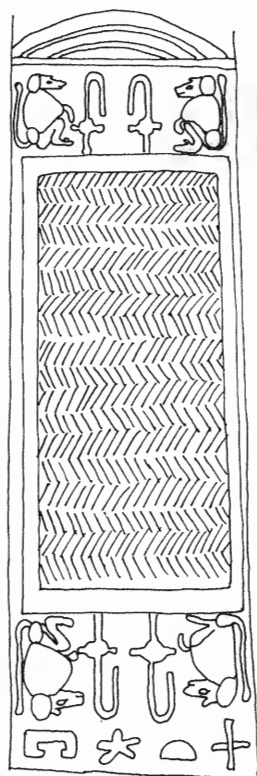


Fig. 54

- Pap. Cairo 33, 53 and 62: the dating to the period of the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II (mummy-braces); the owner of the pap. Cairo 33, Tjanefer, was brother of the HP Pinudjem II and son of Menkheperre;
- Papyri Cairo 122 and Paris 8 belonged to funerary ensembles comprising coffins of the type II-a; this type was the common one in the early 21st Dynasty, and it went out of use under the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II <sup>14</sup>.

In conclusion, papyri of the A.I.1-type, introduced during the Renaissance Era under the pontificate of the HP Herihor, were used in the early 21st Dynasty, and disappeared probably under Pinudjem II.

<sup>14</sup> Miwiński 1988, § 67.

## B - Type A.I.2\_

§ 52.

Only two papyri can be ascribed to this type: London 62 and pap. Warsaw. In both papyri, besides the figures of the Great God's forms (Fig. 55), additional iconographic representations

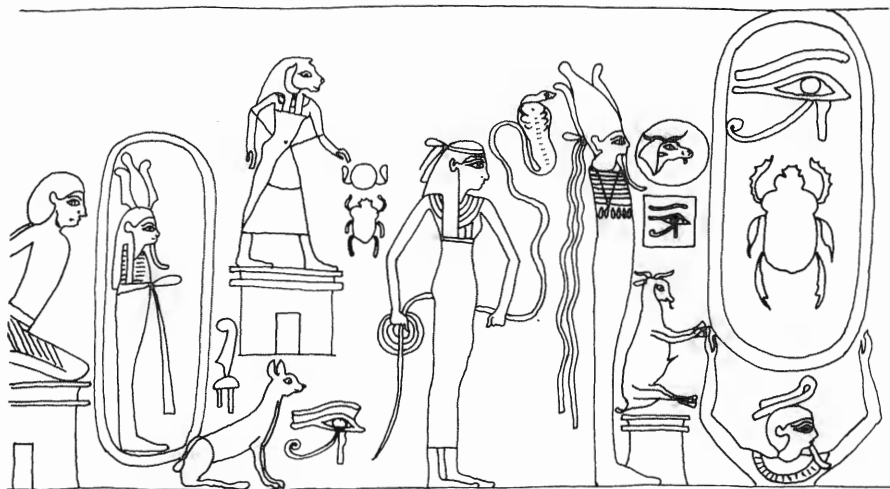


Fig. 55

appear, and in the pap. London 62 also 16 vertical columns of a text. The supplementary scene in the Warsaw papyrus (Fig. 56) represents a solar theme, iconographically related to the First Hour of the royal Amduat<sup>15</sup>. The London papyrus, which is, unfortunately, very damaged, contains besides the series of divine forms (Fig. 57) also unique drawings showing 12 solar barks, which reflects the nightly journey of the Sun, being the main motive of the royal Amduat, too (Figs 58a-f). These borrowings from the royal Amduat are contradictory with the fact of the avoidance in the papyri of A.I.1-type of the pure royal funerary elements. Therefore, it seems that the

<sup>15</sup> The papyrus has been published by Andrzejewski 1959, passim. The drawings of the solar scene were published by Maspero 1895, p.197, Sethe 1928, p.268, Schäfer 1935, p.30, and Hornung 1979, p.227.

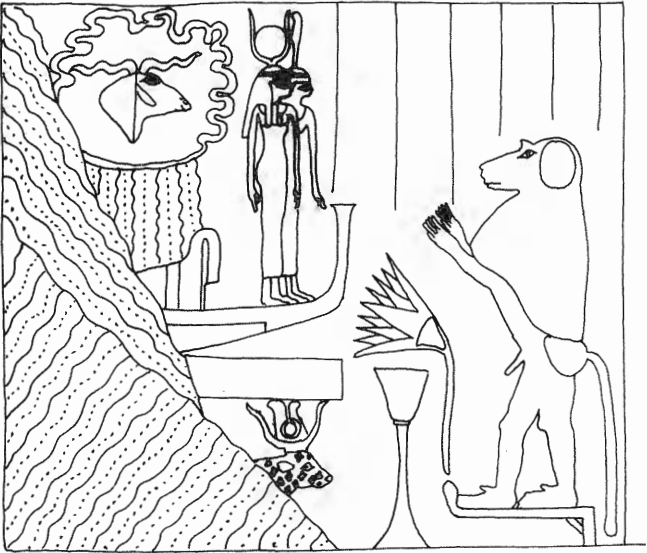


Fig. 56

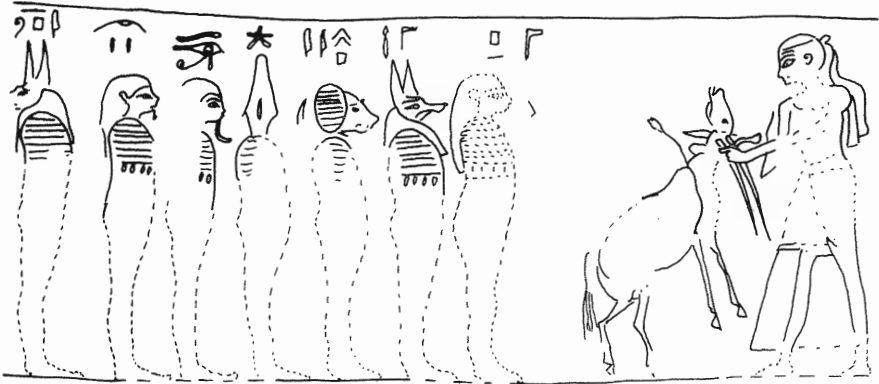


Fig. 57

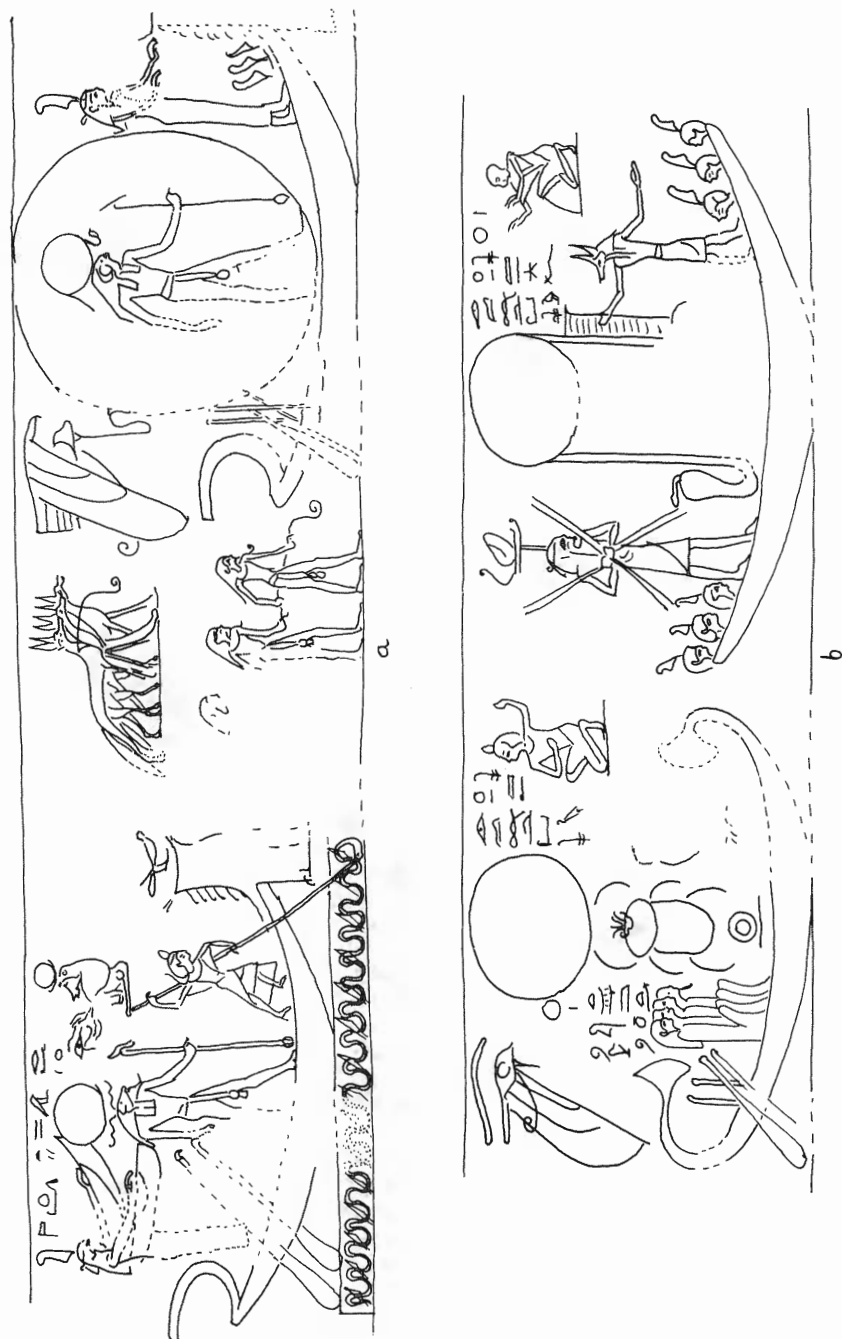


Fig. 58 a-b

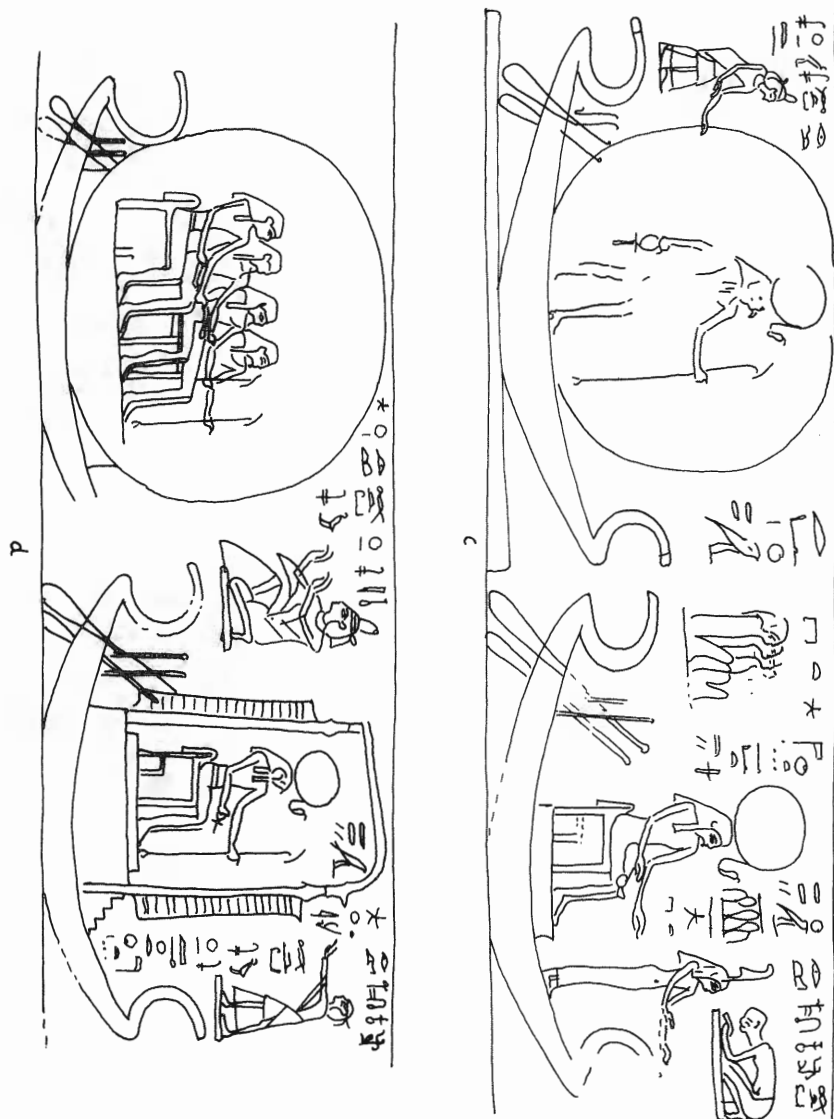
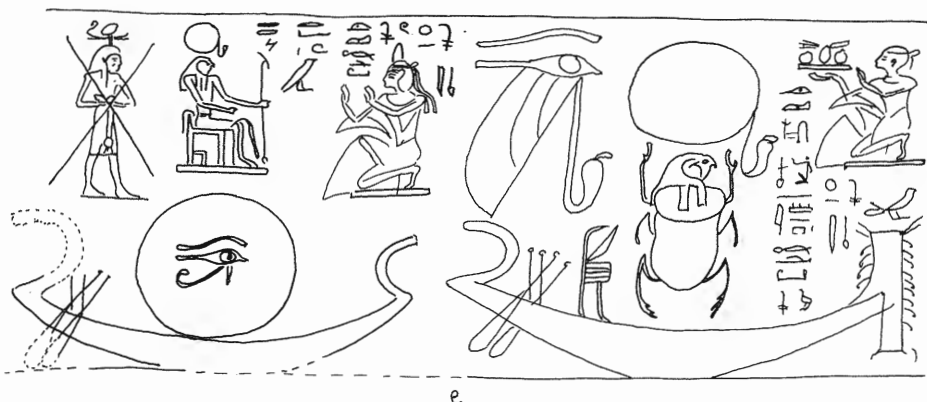
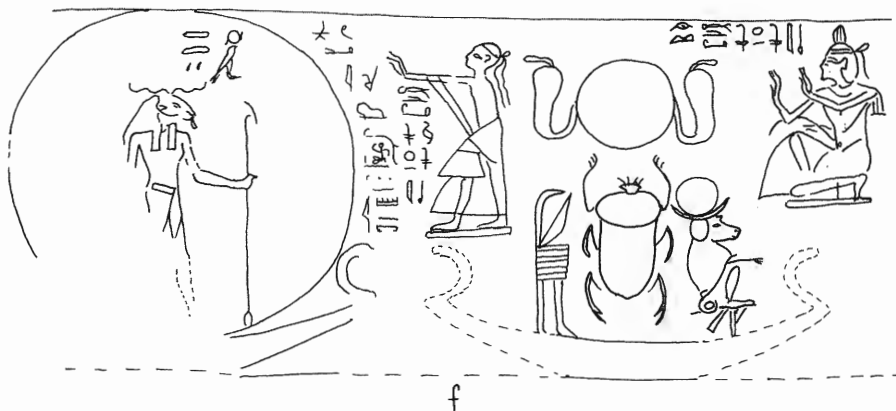


Fig. 58 c-d



e

Fig. 58 e



f

Fig. 58 f

both papyri are later in date, and they originate from the late 21st dyn., when the royal Amduat - motives became common property of the Theban citizens in their funerary equipments.

The Warsaw papyrus belonged probably to the same funerary ensemble as the pap. Berlin 19. This represents, however, features characteristic for the papyri of the type A.III.1a; consequently, one of these two manuscripts must have played a role of the RD-category papyrus. The problem shall be discussed on the occasion of presenting of the A.III.1a-type (cf. § 59. below).

### 3. Papyri derived from the royal Amduat <sup>16</sup>

A - Type A.II.1 - manuscripts containing faithful copies, or their imitations of the last four divisions of Amduat, or fragments of these

a. Subtype A.II.1a: papyri arranged in 3 registers (Pls. 33b - 36a)

§ 53.

This group of the A-papyri <sup>17</sup> is relatively large; 40 manuscripts have been ascribed to this subtype, which makes about 17,2% of all the papyri of the A-category. From these, 6 papyri are clearly entitled md'ṯt lmy n'ṯt; 14 papyri have been found in the funerary ensembles together with papyri of the BD-category. So far 18 papyri have been published <sup>18</sup>.

The following characteristics of the papyri of this subtype can be distinguished:

- The etiquette at the right end of papyrus appears to be not a constant element of the papyrus; the etiquettes were often executed separately and pasted together with the papyrus proper. When the etiquette, for some unknown reasons, is missing, the papyrus remains anonymous;
- The arrangement of the papyrus imitates that of the royal Amduat in the kings'tombs. The particular Hours (9th to 12th) are divided horizontally into three registers, and are separated from each other by means of distinct vertical elements (texts in vertical columns, or simple lines);

<sup>16</sup> The basis publication of the royal Amduat: Hornung 1963, passim (the illustrated version), and ib., 1967, passim (the abbreviated version). For the most recent important publication of the Amduat-papyri from Cairo, see Sadek 1985, passim.

<sup>17</sup> The subtype A.II.1a corresponds to the group "...1. Manuscripts de l'Amdouat proprement dit. a) Papyrus à trois registres" according to the classification by Sadek, op.cit., p.75.

<sup>18</sup> Lanzzone 1879, passim (pap. Turin 5); Leemans 1888, passim (pap. Leiden 17); Pleyte 1894, passim (pap. Leiden 11); Smith and Daressy 1906, pl. IX (pap. Cairo 56); Abdelhamid Youssef 1982, passim (pap. Cairo 5, but only a fragment of the papyrus has been published by him); Sadek 1985, "pap. C.1-11, 26, 33 (pap. Cairo 13, 15, 17, 29, 66, 73, 76, 83, 85, 94, 97, 101, 114).



- Between the etiquette and the illustrated imitation of the royal Amduat the abbreviated version of Amduat can be inserted, written in vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphic text, retrograde;
- The contents of the illustrated part of the papyrus consists of copies, more or less faithful, of the last four divisions of the Amduat (the Hours 9th-12th), usually recorded in such a way that they are "read" from the left to the right, and the etiquette usually borders on the final scene of the 12th Hour. However, the complete repertoire of the four divisions is not always represented in the papyri; three, two divisions, or only one can be encountered.

The style of the drawings recalls, as a rule, that of the decoration of the 18th Dyn. royal tombs (of Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III); the figures are only traced and the only colours used are black and red, i.e. these are the colours of the ink used by the scribes. However, several papyri of this type present imitations of the Amduat recorded in the Ramesside royal tombs; although the colours remain the same (i.e. red and black only), the figures are precisely drawn with all the secondary details, according to the rules of the Egyptian art. To this group belong the papyri Berlin 3 (cf. Pl.33b-c), Cairo 94, 97, 113, 114, Leiden 12.

An example of the complete repertoire (4 Hours) and of the typical arrangement of the papyri of the A.II.1a - type is presented on Pls.34b - 36a (pap. London 33). Another extreme within this type is illustrated on Pl.34a (pap. London 16); here the manuscript contains motives of one Hour only. The artist's work appears to be unfinished, and the arrangement of the figures imperfect. Other unfinished papyri are Cairo 29 and 112.

Two different kinds of papyri can be distinguished, from the viewpoint of the contents. In most papyri the 12th division of Amduat is recorded and placed directly behind the etiquette, or behind the abbreviated version. In another group, or "family" of papyri the etiquette borders the illustrations of the 11th Hour of Amduat (papyri Berlin 3, Pl.33b-c, Cairo 13, 15, 66 and partly 110). In the last-mentioned manuscript

the sequence of the illustrations is totally confused. Behind the etiquette, in the upper register the 11th and (after the separating vertical inscription) the 10th divisions of Amduat are represented; in the middle register there are motives of the 11th and 9th Hours (with an unfinished drawing of the solar bark); in the lower register the 10th and 9th Hours of Amduat are shown. Directly after the end of this mixed division, quite unexpectedly the illustrations of the 12th Hour of Amduat appear. On Fig. 59 figures on a fragment of the papyrus showing this unusual effect of such an inverted arrangement are presented. Particular well known figures from the royal

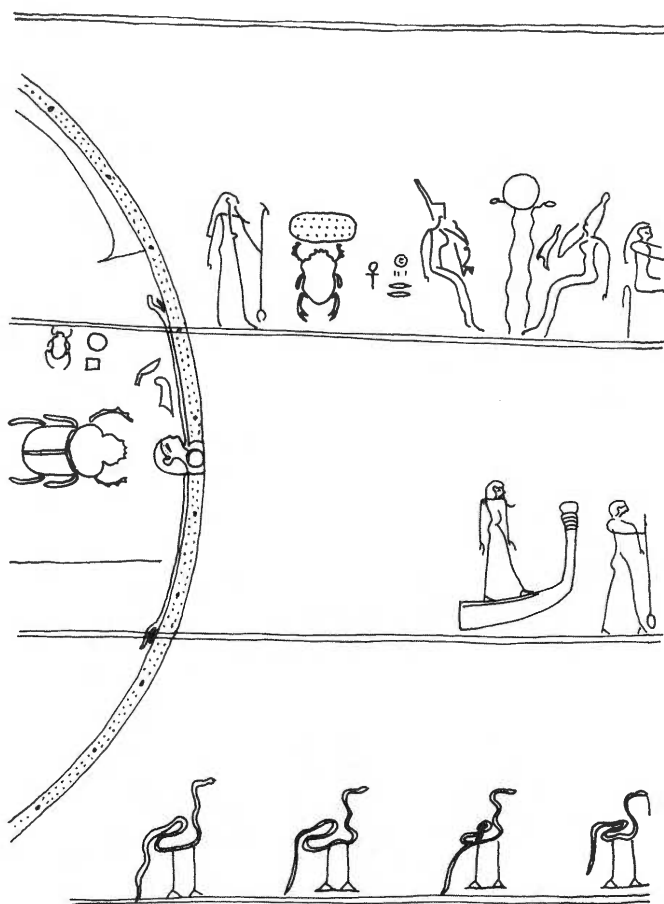


Fig. 59

Amduat repertoire can be sometimes given atypical shapes in the papyri. An instance of this (the figure no 753 according to Hornung's edition of the Amduat) is illustrated on Fig.60.

The following papyri can be dated after some information furnished by the funerary ensembles, to which they belonged:

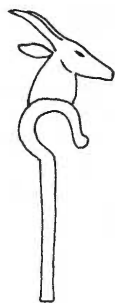


Fig. 60

- Pap. Cairo 94 belonged to the HP Menkheperre's daughter Gatseshen, on whose mummy the name of the King Amenemope on mummy-braces has been found;
- papyri Cairo 56 and 66: the name of the HP Pinudjem II was recorded on the mummy-braces, and that of Menkheperre on the mummy-linen of their owners' mummies;
- Papyri Cairo 15 and 73 are datable to the period of the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II (mummy-braces);
- papyri Cairo 13, 55, 101 and 112 are datable to the pontificate of the HP Psusennes (mummy-braces); the owner of the pap. Cairo 13, Maatkare, was a daughter of the HP Pinudjem II;
- Pap. Cairo 76: mummy-braces of the King Psusennes II indicate the date of the papyrus;
- Pap. Cairo 114 belonged to the HP Pinudjem II himself <sup>19</sup>; his burial took place in the Year 10 of Siamun;
- Pap. Cairo 83 belonged to Djedptahiufankh, son-in-law of Pinudjem II; from his mummy bandages with the dates: Years 5, 12, and 11 (of Sheshonq I) as well as mummy-braces of the HP Iuput originate;
- Pap. Leiden 17: on its owner mummy-braces with the name of Qsorkon II have been found;
- Pap. Cairo 5 belonged to Menkheperre, grandson of the HP Menkheperre;
- Papyri Berlin 3, Cairo 17 and Cairo 110 were connected in their funerary ensembles with coffins of the types III-b/III-c, IV-b and III-a/III-b, respectively. According to the typology of the coffins of the period <sup>20</sup>, these types were

<sup>19</sup> Sadek, op. cit., pp.227 and 344 mistakenly attributes this papyrus to the HP Pinudjem I.

<sup>20</sup> Miwiński 1988, §§ 71-73, 75.

in the use in Thebes in the middle and late 21st Dynasty; the types III-a and IV-b were introduced earlier than III-b and -c, in the late years of the pontificate of Menkheperre. The types III-b and -c were used still in the early 22nd Dyn.

§ 54.

The earliest evidence of the date of this type of papyri points to the reign of Amenemope, and the latest evidence connects the type A.II.1a with the reign of Osorkon I. In conclusion, the papyri with the copies of the royal Amduat appeared in the final phase of the middle 21st Dyn, and they were in common use in the late 21st Dyn. and later, (in the early 22nd Dynasty at least). This conclusion corroborates, in general, the observation of Sadek<sup>21</sup> that

"...aucun des documents /.../ ne peut se voir assigner une date antérieure à la période du pontificat de Menkheperre"

The above-gathered evidence leads us to exclude the long pontificate of Menkheperre, too, with exception of the last few years. In these, the old and powerful High Priest Menkheperre, who had held his pontifical office during over 40 years, was given in some inscriptions his own "regnal" years (being in fact probably those of the King Psusennes I<sup>22</sup>), and his name occurs several times in a cartouche. It seems conceivable that in this situation, Menkheperre was the first official who found himself entitled to use the royal funerary composition - Amduat - for his own sake. A decision concerning the preparation of an appropriate pattern on papyrus was taken, and a royal tomb was chosen, from which the fragments of the holy composition were copied. In this way, the model-papyrus with the pattern of, what became soon the commonest version of the A-category manuscripts, was created. The precedent was made, and the possessing of the Amduat-book in the funerary equipment ceased to be an exclusively royal privilege. The earliest papyri with some fragments of the royal Amduat (however, re-

<sup>21</sup> Sadek, op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Kitchen 1986, p.534: "as high priest and shadow "king", Menkheperre at the end adopted (or was attributed) the regnal years of Psusennes I - precisely as also Hatshepsut used as hers the regnal years of Tuthmosis III."

presenting not the complete version as the A.II.1a-papyri, and being probably only by-products of the workshop, where the splendid papyrus for Menkheperre was prepared) were used in priests' funerary equipments still during Menkheperre's lifetime, towards the end of his pontificate (pap. Cairo 54 of the subtype A.II.1b).

Such is a conjectural reconstruction of facts that caused the appearance of the A.II.1a-type papyri so much different from the A.I.1-type. Two additional questions arise:

- 1/. From which royal tomb was the model-copy of the Amduat taken?, and
- 2/. Why only the last four divisions were included in that model?

In the study by Sadek, the discussion of the first problem brings in the conclusion the answer: the tomb of Amenhotep III, which is based on some philological analysis<sup>23</sup>. However, in this royal tomb the four divisions of Amduat are represented on three different walls of the Sarcophagus Chamber, and it seems that for the Egyptian artist who was charged with the task of copying the Book from the tomb walls on papyrus, the work would have been easier, if he could take the copy and the necessary measurements only from one wall. There is only one such a wall in the royal tombs, where the divisions 9th to 12th + the complete abbreviated version of Amduat (i.e. the elements repeated in all the most complete and most correct papyri) occur together: the eastern wall of the Sarcophagus Chamber in the tomb of Amenhotep II. This tomb was known and accessible in the time of the 21st Dynasty, since several royal mummies were deposited there in those days<sup>24</sup>. The decoration of the Chamber in this tomb always remains in excellent state of preservation, while that in the tomb of Amenhotep III is damaged to a considerable degree.

An assumption that the prototype papyrus of the A.II.1a-type was copied from the eastern wall of the Sarcophagus Chamber of the tomb of Amenhotep II, which offered many facilities

<sup>23</sup> Sadek, op. cit., p.295.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hornung 1982a, p.78.

for the artist's work, explains at the same time the contents of the papyri<sup>25</sup>. The rule pars pro toto, always applicable, meant that the last four Hours of the Night, comprising, among others, the motives of the final triumph of the Great God over his eternal enemy Apopis, represented very efficiently the whole Amduat-Book in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians. Besides, these four last divisions of Amduat supplemented with the abbreviated version and the etiquette, constituted a considerable amount of texts and illustrations. This required a roll of papyrus of the length between 4 and 5 m, and such a long roll was a considerable expense in that period, even for the members of the High Priest's family.

b. Subtype A.II.1b: papyri arranged in 1 or 2 registers (pls. 36b-37a).

§ 55.

To this subtype 28 papyri have been ascribed, which makes about 12% of the total of the A-category papyri. From these, 12 manuscripts have so far been published<sup>26</sup>. On 6 papyri the title mg't lmy D't appears; 9 papyri have been found in the funerary ensembles together with the DD-category papyri.

The papyri of this subtype are characterized by the following features:

- The etiquette usually appears on the right, however, it is not a constant element of the papyri; it can be omitted or represented at the left side of papyrus;
- The arrangement of the motives from the royal Amduat does

<sup>25</sup> A complicated explanation of the contents of the Amduat-papyri in a highly speculative way, by the assumption that the copying of the last 4 sections of Amduat was not an usurpation of the royal privileges, while an eventual adaptation of the remaining sections would have meant such an usurpation (Sadek, op. cit., pp.322-325), is not convincing and it must be considered conjectural.

<sup>26</sup> Belmore 1843, pl.3 (pap.London 22); Mariette 1871-1876, "pap. no 9" (pap. Cairo 87); Sadek, op. cit., papyri C.12 - C.19, C.23-24 (pap. Cairo 31, 63, 64, 79, 82, 87, 58, 70, 80 and 102); Cenival, Yoyotte and Ziegler 1987, pp. 274-275 (pap. Paris 43).

not repeat the classical scheme of the division into 3 registers. Although particular figures (motives) were faithfully imitated, no importance was attached to the copying of the structural elements of the classical version of Amduat; the motives are arranged in 2 or 1 register instead of 3 registers;

- Most of the papyri are executed in black and red ink only; painted manuscripts, however, also occur in this group;
- The contents of the papyrus recalls that of the previously discussed subtype, and fragments of the divisions 9th - 12th of the royal Amduat are copied in the proper sequence. Some new iconographic elements, unknown in the classical version of Amduat, can be added, too.

The fact alone of breaking with the tradition of arranging the motives of the Amduat in 3 registers is significant evidence that the Amduat papyri underwent an evolution in the course of the late 21st Dynasty. The subtype A.II.1b seems to represent an initial stage of this evolution. The shapes of the Amduat-motives are faithfully rendered, as is their sequence; when taken, however, out of the original context, and supplemented with some additional figures, they seem to reflect the effects of an influence exerted on them by other types of the funerary papyri in use at the same time in Thebes. An economic factor appears also to have played a role. As it has been observed (cf. § 32. above), most papyri of the 21st Dynasty were made from scrolls halved along their length so that an average height of the manuscripts was about 21 - 23 cm; at the same time a much higher roll (of about 32 - 45 cm) was needed for a good copy of the royal Amduat arranged in 3 registers. When an artist had at his disposal a narrower roll, he faced a dilemma: should he keep the traditional arrangement of Amduat at the cost of exactitude in rendering details of particular figures and of writing the appropriate legends, or rather should he copy faithfully only two or even one register? The type A.II.1b represents examples of the latter solution.

A particular place within the group is taken by the pap. Cairo 121 belonging to a certain Shedsuhor. The title on the verso of the papyrus was accompanied by the names of four

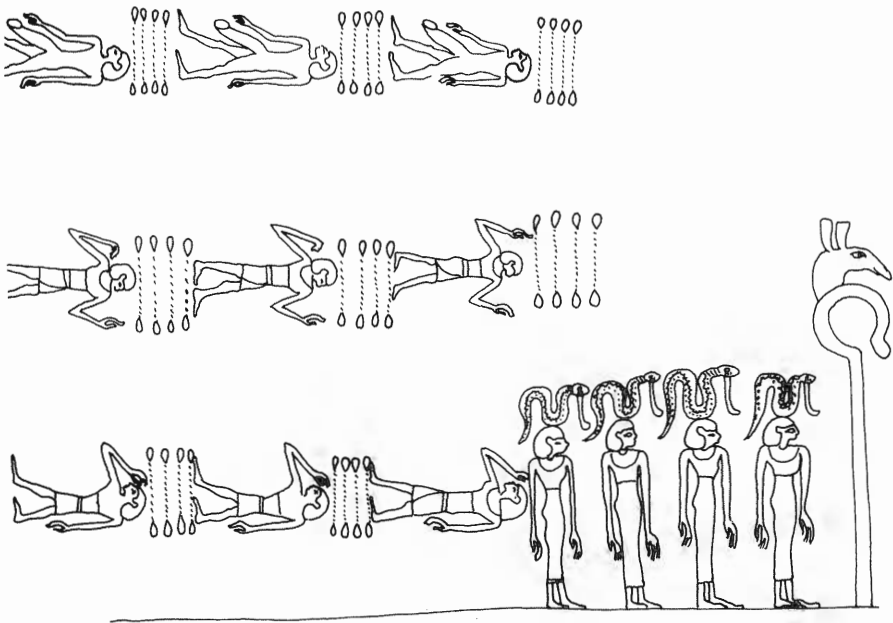


Fig. 61



Fig. 62a



Fig. 62b



sons of Horus, the figures in the manuscript are not only outlined but also painted in white, yellow and blue <sup>27</sup>. Finally, iconographic motives in this papyrus are very interesting; some of them represent unusual variants of Amduat (Fig. 61), while some other motives, atypical for the Amduat-papyri, hint at an influence of the BD-category papyri (Figs 62a-b). To another very skilfully executed papyrus of Merytamun, daughter of the HP Menkheperre (pap. Cairo 31) Sadek has already drawn our attention <sup>28</sup>.

The dating of this subtype can be arrived at owing to the following chronological hints:

- Pap. Cairo 31 belonged to the daughter of the HP Menkheperre; the coffin of Merytamun, of the type IV-c, dates to the late 21st Dynasty <sup>29</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 54: on the mummy of its owner mummy-braces with the name of the HP Menkheperre (the name in cartouche) have been found. This is the earliest evidence for a papyrus with the royal Amduat motives. For the conjectural explanation of this early occurrence, cf. § 54.above);
- Pap. Cairo 58 and 82: mummy-braces of the HP Pinudjem II (on the latter papyrus together with those of King Amenemope) originate from the funerary ensembles of these manuscripts;
- Papyri Cairo 79, 102 and 121 are connected with coffins of the types III-a and III-c. These types were in use in the late 21st Dynasty, under the pontiffs Pinudjem II and Psusennes, and also in the early 22nd Dyn. <sup>30</sup>;
- Pap. London 10 was connected with a coffin of type V, which was in use in the late 21st and early 22nd Dynasty <sup>31</sup>.

The evidence leads us to conclude that the earliest papyri of this type appeared at the same time as the most complete

<sup>27</sup> One figure from this papyrus has been published by Schott 1965, pl.2.

<sup>28</sup> Sadek, op. cit., pp. 145-150, pls. 26-27.

<sup>29</sup> Niwiński, op. cit., § 76.

<sup>30</sup> op. cit., §§ 71 and 73.

<sup>31</sup> op. cit., § 78.

Amduat-papyri in 3 registers. The A.II.1b-papyri were probably made in the same workshops as the "great copies of Amduat; the earliest of them (like the pap. Cairo 54) might have been by-products of the work on the first series of the complete papyri prepared to order of the HP Menkheperre for himself and his next-of-kin <sup>32</sup>.

3 - Type A.II.2. Manuscripts containing very abbreviated and transformed versions of the last four divisions of the royal Amduat

a. Subtype A.II.2a: papyri arranged in 3 registers (Pls 37b - 39a).

8 56.

To this subtype 34 papyri have been ascribed, which makes about 14,65% of all the manuscripts of the A-category listed in the Part Two of this work. From these, 12 papyri have already been published <sup>33</sup>. On two papyri (Leningrad 5 and Paris 16) the title mdꜥt imy Dꜥt appears. For three papyri their counterparts of the BD-category have been found. The characteristic features of this subtype are following:

- The manuscripts are short; their length vary from about 0,30 to 1,28 m, an average length being about 50 - 70 cm;
- Etiquettes seldom appear; they can be attached directly to the illustrated part of papyrus, or separated from it by few vertical columns of inscription;

<sup>32</sup> For example, Istemkheb, his wife, and Nesbanebdjed, his son and the direct successor on the pontifical throne. Although Menkheperre's tomb still remains undiscovered, a conjecture can be put forward that on an eventual future discovery, the papyri of the A.II.1a-type seem most probably to be expected with the mummies of the three personages.

<sup>33</sup> Leemans 1887, passim (pap. Leiden 16); Marucchi 1891, pp. 99-100, pl. IV (pap. Vatican 3); Botti 1955, pl. III, no 394 (pap. Cortona); Evgenova 1957, "pap. no 2" (pap. Leningrad 5); Monnet Saleh 1970, p.165 (papyri Zagreb 1 and 2); Malaise 1971, p. 114-116, fig.47 (pap. Liège); Lise 1979, p.27, pl.93 (pap.Milan); Heerma van Voss 1982b, pp. 55-60 (pap. Houston); Sadek, op. cit., "pap. C.20-C.22" (pap. Cairo 6, 52, 103).

- The illustrated part of papyrus is arranged in three registers; these contain motives from the royal Amduat, representing different degree of faithfulness towards the original pattern, and different quality of execution;
- The figures are traced exclusively with the use of black and red ink; some iconographic elements like scarabs or solar disc are filled with a (black or red) colour;

The papyri under discussion represent cheaper imitations of the A.II.1a-type manuscripts; their small size and simplicity of execution of the decoration probably result from economic considerations. However it may appear strange, two papyri of this group belonged to sons of the Theban pontiffs (pap. Cairo 103 and Leningrad 5). To be sure, the former papyrus owed by Ankhefenmut, son of the HP Menkheperre, is undoubtedly the best representative of the whole group: its height is 36 cm, and the length - 1,28 m, the style of the execution is relatively better than that of other papyri, and it recalls, most of all, the A.II.1a-type manuscripts. Its contents, however, present extremely abbreviated excerpts of three divisions of Amduat <sup>34</sup>.

The papyri of this subtype can well illustrate the application of the rule pars pro toto. Some manuscripts contain only fragment of one section of Amduat (the 12th Hour), but the majority of them comprise motives of all four divisions, each one being usually represented only by few figures. The illustrated part ends, in most papyri, with the final fragment of the 12th Hour, characteristic in the semi-circular bordering line (cf. Pls.37b, 38a,39a), however, some atypical arrangement can also be encountered (Pl.38b). The vertical columns of inscription (to the right of the illustrated part) can contain an abbreviation of the abbreviated version of Amduat (like in the pap. Cairo 103), but sometimes other texts appear there: the offering formula (pap. London 14), or simply title and name of the deceased (pap. Cleveland 1, cf. Pl.37b).

The following information can be of assistance at dating of the type:

- Pap. Cairo 103 belonged to a son of the HP Menkheperre;

<sup>34</sup> Cf. publication of Sadek, op. cit., pp.163-168, pls.31-32.

- Pap. Leningrad 5 belonged to Osorkon, son of the HP Sheshonq and grandson of the King Osorkon I. HP Sheshonq died about 890 B.C., and the papyrus can be, therefore, dated to the early 9th century B.C.;
- Pap. Cairo 52 was connected in the funerary ensemble with a coffin of the III-a type, in use in Thebes from the late pontificate of the HP Menkheperre until the end of the 21st Dynasty, or even longer <sup>35</sup>;
- Pap. Leiden 16 originates from a funerary ensemble, to which a coffin of the V-type belonged. This type was introduced in the late 21st Dyn., and it was still in the use under Osorkon I <sup>36</sup>.

To conclude from the above data, the papyri of the subtype A.II.2a can be dated to the late 21st Dynasty, and the early 22nd Dyn., and they were probably used as cheap substitutes for other papyri of the A.II.-type.

b. Subtype A.II.2: papyri arranged in 1 or 2 registers (Pls 39b - 40b)

§ 57.

To this subtype 12 manuscripts have been ascribed, which makes about 5,17% of the whole A-category. Four papyri have already been published <sup>37</sup>. On one papyrus of this subtype the title was recorded, while for 2 papyri the existence of their counterparts of the BD-category has been noted.

The papyri of this subtype can be characterized by the following features:

- The manuscripts are of various length; their height does not exceed 25 cm, and some of them are very low (11-13 cm); the etiquette is not constant element;
- The figures and texts are represented in various arrangement in one or two horizontal registers; the figures are drawn in

<sup>35</sup> Miwiński, op. cit., § 71.

<sup>36</sup> op. cit., § 78.

<sup>37</sup> Lanzone 1882, p.213, pls.251-254 (pap. Turin 9); Wenig and Raumschüssel 1977, p.38, il.39-40 (pap. Dresden 2); Sadek, op. cit., pap. "C.25" and "C.27" (pap. Cairo 57 and 93).

black or red outline, or they are painted with various colours; a painted border ornament can sometimes appear; the style and quality of execution of the figures are different in various papyri;

- The only distinguishing element is the contents of the papyri. They comprise motives of the royal Amduat, which are, however a) arranged in a confused way, or
- b) transformed under the influence of other iconographic compositions, and owing to an individual artistic invention of the drawer.

An example of atypical arrangement (in the pap. London 18) is given on Pl.40a, while Pls. 39b, 40b, and Fig.63 illustrate

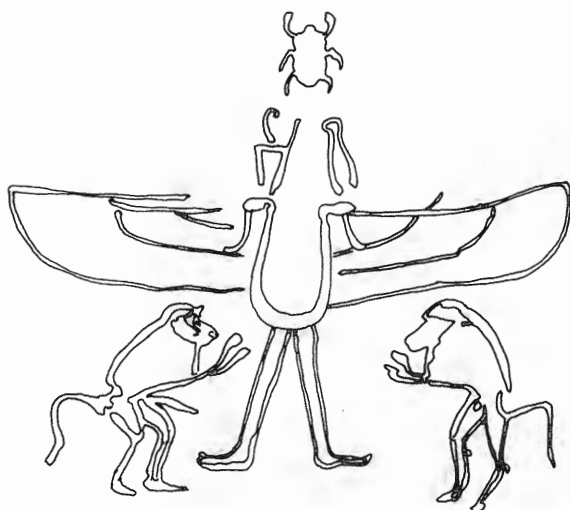


Fig. 63

the instances of transformed motives of Amduat in the papyri: Berlin 17 (an ityphallic mummy of Osiris), London 23 (a falcon-headed solar deity in the nightly bark), and Turin 7 (the transformed figure being probably combination of the nos 730 and 755, according to Hornung's edition), respectively. Another atypical motif from an unpublished papyrus of this type (pap. Cairo 127) is worth noting: from the semi-circular end of the final scene from the 12th Hour of Amduat a head with the face of Hathor emerges, and a pair of human arms

holding the solar disc; the scene shows a strong influence of the BD-motives. The quality of the execution of the papyri belonging to this subtype is rather poor, and such papyri might have originated from secondary workshops, where artists of inferior ability were employed, who had at their disposal no good patterns.

The only papyrus which can be dated on the basis of some auxiliary chronological information, is the pap. Cairo 93. On the mummy of its owner the mummy-braces and the mummy-linen with the name of the HP Psusennes have been found. The coffins of the same anonymous person belong to the types III-b and IV-c, both datable to the late 21st Dynasty <sup>38</sup>.

C - Type A.II.3. Manuscripts containing the motives of the royal Amduat besides of those of the Book of the Dead (distinctly recognizable and separated)

§ 58.

There is a small group of 7 manuscripts (about 3% within the A-category), in which the "classical" motives of the Book of the Dead are represented besides those of the royal Amduat. The proportions between both groups of the figures are different in each papyrus. From the viewpoint of the style and arrangement of the Amduat-motives, the papyri could belong to different types within the A-category, and one of them (pap. Cairo 4) practically represents the BD-category. The following papyri belong to this type:

1. Pap. Berlin 1 <sup>39</sup>. This papyrus would belong to the best examples of the A.II.1a-type; it contains the complete abbreviated version of Amduat, and a long illustrated part with the 12th, 10th and a fragment of the 9th divisions. Instead of an etiquette, the scene of the Weighing of the Heart from the BD 125/30B is represented at the beginning of the papyrus (cf. Fig.7). This papyrus belonged to the same funerary ensemble as the pap. Leiden 2 (being a manuscript of the BD.II.1), and it was connected with a coffin

<sup>38</sup> Niwiński, op. cit., §§ 72 and 76.

<sup>39</sup> Partly published by Hornung 1967, pls.5-10 (the text of the

of the type V (Berlin, inv. 21779). This type appeared in the late pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II, and was in use until Osorkon I.

2. Pap. Cairo 4 (unpublished) represents opposite proportions between the elements of the A and BD. It contains from the right to the left the BD-chapters in the following sequence: 125 with vignettes, 149 and 17 (vignettes only) and 110 (Fields of the Offerings). In a small rectangular area inserted between the BD 110 (to the left), BD 17 (above), and the text of the BD 125 (to the right), three figures from the 11th Hour of Amduat appear (nos 755, 798 and 799 according to Hornung's edition) (Fig. 64). The papyrus would otherwise belong to the type BD.III.1b.

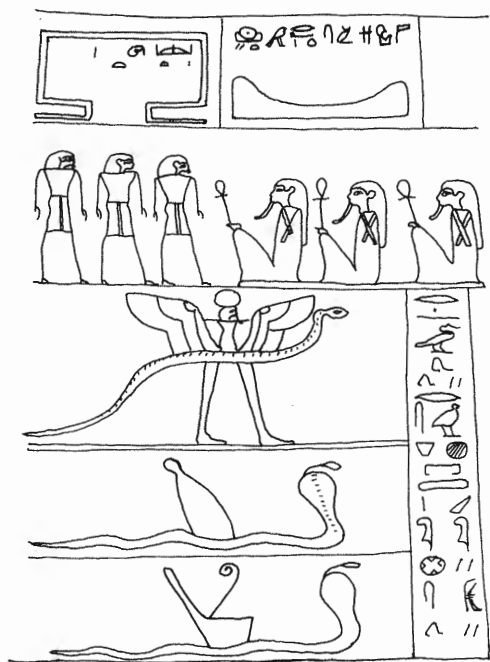


Fig. 64

3. Pap. Cairo 120<sup>40</sup>. The right section of this papyrus contains an abbreviated version of Amduat).

<sup>40</sup> Published by Sadek, op. cit., pp.196-208, pls.39-41.

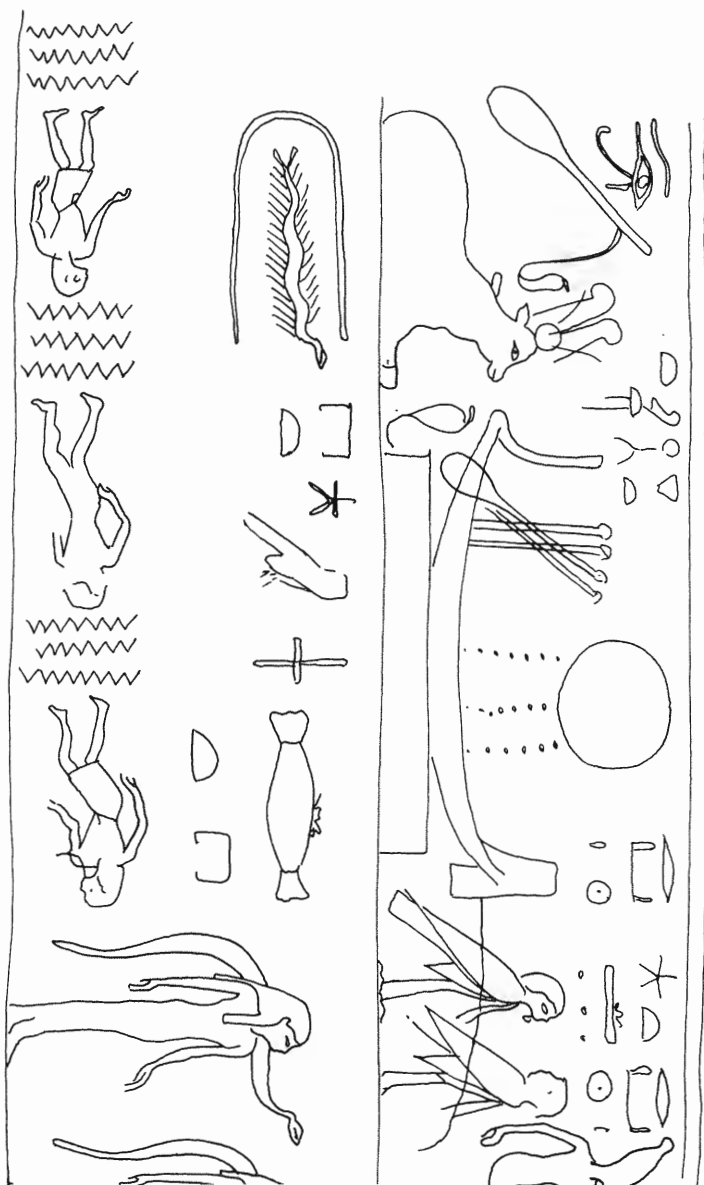


Fig. 65



tains motives derived from the 11th and 12th divisions of the Amduat arranged in one register; this part of the papyrus corresponds with the manuscripts of the type A.II.1b. The left section contains figures from the BD 149 and 110, which would correspond with the type BD.III.1a. This papyrus of good quality of execution, belonged to a Djedkhonsiufankh, to whom also belonged an interesting papyrus ascribed to the type A.III.1b<sup>41</sup>. One of these two papyri must have been regarded by the ancient Egyptians as representing the BD-category. The father of Djedkhonsiufankh was buried in coffins of the types III-a and III-c in the late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty.

4. The pap. London 57 (cf. Pl.5b) consists, practically, of two independent papyri found together on a mummy, about which nothing is known at present. The right section of the manuscript represents the typical BD.I.2-papyrus, while the other section - the papyrus, which could be ascribed to the A.II.2a-type.
5. The pap. Marseille 1<sup>42</sup> contains some excerpts from the BD 149 and the figure of the BD 126, and also figures from the 11th and 12th Hours of Amduat. The characteristics of this papyrus would let us ascribe it at the same time to the types BD.III.1b and A.II.2a. Some stylistic features found in the etiquette would support, it seems, a relatively late date of this papyrus (the 22nd Dynasty or later).
6. The pap. Turin 8 would represent the type A.II.2b. The motives from the Amduat are here supplemented with some figures of the BD 148 and 149 (Fig. 65).
7. The pap. Paris 29, of which only a number of small fragments survive, would probably belong to the type A.II.2a. It contains, however, also a scene from the BD 125 (Fig.66).



Fig. 66

<sup>41</sup> Piankoff and Rambova 1957, "pap. no 22".

All the above-listed papyri combine both categories of the funerary manuscripts: the A (represented by the motives from the royal Amduat) and the 9D (represented mainly by the vignettes to the most popular chapters). It seems conceivable that some of these atypical papyri (pap. London 57, Marseille 1, Turin 8) might have played a role of two conjoined papyri in the funerary equipments of their owners. The chronological evidence for this type is scarce, but it can be probably concluded that such atypical mixtures of the motives was relatively late phenomenon, and it probably occurred in the late 21st Dynasty, and it developed later.

4. The papyri named md't lmy D't, derived from the Book of the Dead and from various royal funerary compositions other than the Amduat

A - Type A.III.1. Manuscripts with the motives of the Book of the Dead

- a. Subtype A.III.1a. Papyri recalling the scheme of the type A.I<sup>43</sup> (pls 41-42)

§ 59.

When dealing with the type A.III.1 we find ourselves faced with a question, whether our modern interpretation of the contents of some funerary papyri corresponds well to that of the ancient Egyptians? The problem is caused by the fact that in some instances two papyri originating from the same funerary ensemble should be ascribed to the A-category, according to the accepted here criteria. An insight into the Egyptian understanding of some papyri can be attempted on the occasion of studying the manuscripts of the subtype A.III.1a. These represent a unique series of truly analogous, almost identical papyri containing a number of figures being adored by the de-

<sup>42</sup> Lanzone 1882, pl.267.

<sup>43</sup> This group of papyri was object of studies by Chassinat 1903, passim, Morenz 1964, passim, and Köhler 1972, passim.

ceased. Although this scheme recalls that of the A.I.-papyri of the early 21st Dynasty, the figures represented here are recognizable as vignettes to some BD-chapters: among others BD 87 (serpent), 83 (heron), 30 (heart), 8 (the goddess Imen-tet), 145/146 (figures of guardians), 149 (some characteristic figures like crocodile with a jug, etc), 148 (four oars), 186 (the cosmic cow emerging from the Western Mountain). From the viewpoint of the formal criteria, the papyri of this type represent the semi-horizontal, and sometimes horizontal composition.

Among 12 manuscripts ascribed to this type (which makes about 5,17% of the whole A-category papyri), 9 repeat the same sequence<sup>44</sup> of the figures, and all these papyri undoubtedly originate from the same pattern. Since on the pap. Cairo 18 the title md)t imy D)t (in hieratic) appears, the whole group has been ascribed to the A-category. This classification seems to be supported by the papyri Berlin 18 and London 29, having their counterparts among the BD-papyri. The problem arises with the pap. Berlin 19 of a certain priestess Tahemenmut, whose second funerary manuscript (the Warsaw papyrus) belongs to the type A.I.2 (cf. § 52 above). Since both papyri originate from the same collection of Minutoli, and, moreover, both are analogous to each other in respect of some characteristic details (the upper bordering ornament consists of a coloured band, while a single line is drawn under the figures), it is most probable that it was in fact the same Tahemenmut who possessed both papyri in question. Since the figures on the pap. Warsaw imitate those introduced in the early 21st Dynasty with the new category of funerary papyri called md)t imy D)t, and the pap. Berlin 19 consists of the vignettes of the Book of the Dead, probably the latter manuscript was regarded as

<sup>44</sup> The following papyri have been published: Berlin 18 (Morenz, op. cit., passim; Köhler, op. cit., pl.3), Berlin 19 (Köhler, op. cit., pl.4), Cairo 18 (Köhler, op. cit., pl.3), Cairo 25 (Köhler, op. cit., pl.4), Cairo 75 (Piankoff and Rambova 1957, "pap. no 3"), London 29 (Ions 1968, p.30), Paris 36 (Chassinat 1903, passim), Turin 2 (Lanzzone 1882, pls. 71-72). The pap. London 26 is illustrated on the Pl. 41a-b of this work.

a representative of the BD-category in the eyes of somebody who was in charge of completing the funerary equipment for Tahemenmut. At the same time, in the eyes of somebody else, however, the papyri of the type A.III.1a could represent the A-category.

This assumption can be supported, as it appears, by the observations of three remaining papyri ascribed to this group: the pap. Cairo 30 (Pl.42a-b), Cairo 88 and Cairo 117 (both unpublished). These three most interesting manuscripts constitute a small group within this subtype. The above-discussed series of the BD-figures appear in a limited form here, and it takes up only a fragment of the whole surface of the manuscript. In the papyri Cairo 30 (Pl.42a-b) and pap. Cairo 88 the remaining part of it comprises besides of the etiquette, a hymn to Re-Horakhty-Atum, and some motives derived from the royal Amduat (11th and 10th Hours), supplemented by some further figural representations of unknown origin (Fig.67).

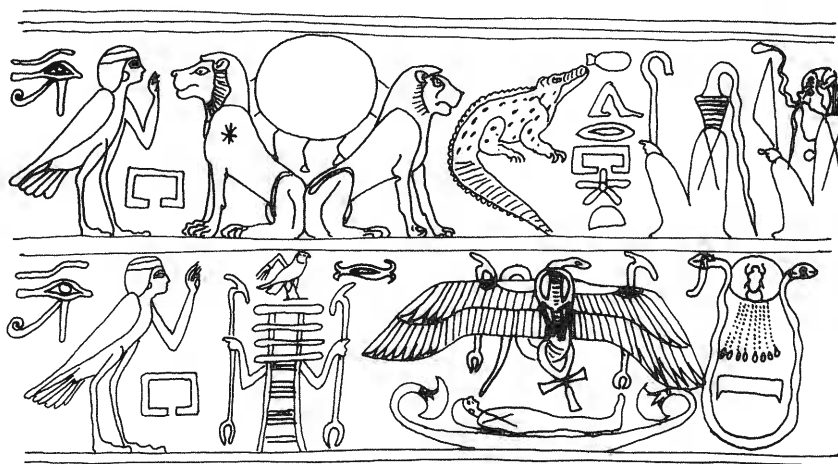


Fig. 67

In the pap. Cairo 117, a text from the BD 130 and the scene of purification ("BD 195") occupy the same position as the hymn in both other papyri; this part of the papyrus is analogous with a fragment of the pap. Cairo 67 (of the type BD.III.1a). The middle section of the pap. Cairo 117 is taken by the

same representations, arranged in 2 registers, which appeared also in the pap. Cairo 30 and Cairo 88, while the final part furnishes again some atypical complex scenes of the joined solar/Osirian contents (Figs.68-69). Notwithstanding the pre-

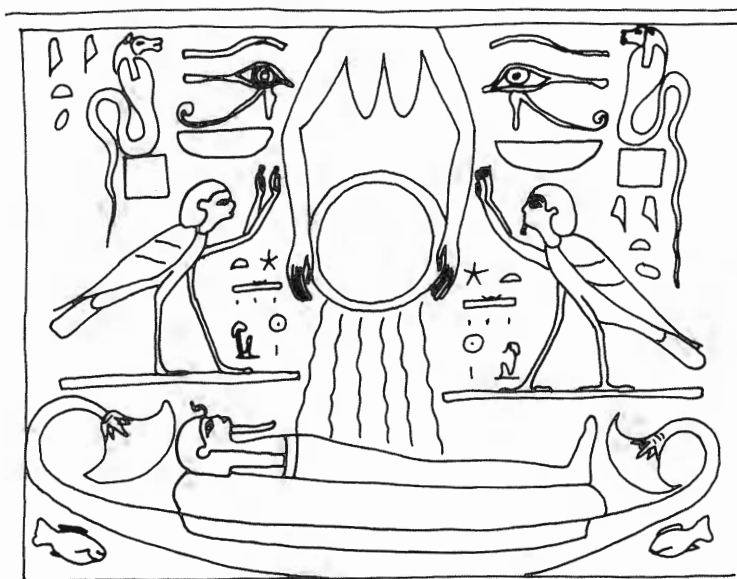


Fig. 68

sence of some BD-elements in the above-described three papyri, the distinct occurrence of the motives from the royal Amduat, as well as the arrangement into horizontal registers, which echoes that of the A.II.-type papyri, leave no room for doubt about their affiliation to the A-category. In fact, the papyrus Cairo 117, which was related most of all to the Book of the Dead, belonged to a funeral ensemble together with a BD-category manuscript, so that it must have been regarded by the Egyptians as an A-category papyrus. On the other hand, the papyrus Cairo 88 has a counterpart another papyrus of the A-category, which recalls the case of the papyri Warsaw and Berlin 19. In conclusion, it seems to be fair to say that problems, which sometimes occur in the classification (especially of the papyri of the A.III.1-type), and which cause our uncertainty as to the proper affiliation of a manuscript either to the

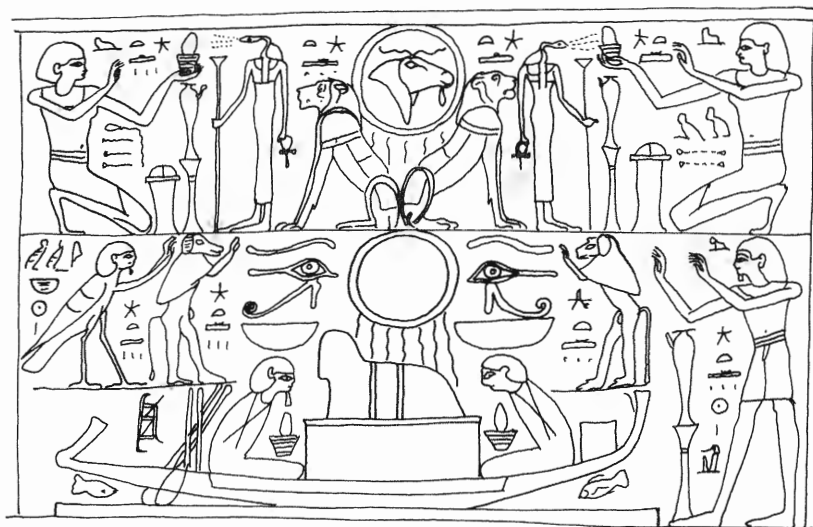


Fig. 69

BD- or to the A-category, are owed to some analogous divergences in the interpretation among the ancient Egyptians themselves. This phenomenon appears to have been the result of a specific embarras de richesse, when many different types of the illustrated funerary papyri were produced in a number of Theban workshops at the same time. Such a situation occurred in the late 21st Dynasty, as can be concluded from some chronological data derived from the funerary ensembles of the following papyri:

- Pap. Cairo 75: mummy-linen of the Pinudjem II have been found on the mummy;
- Pap. Cairo 117: mummy-linen with the names of Pinudjem II, of the King Amenemope and of the King Siamun; the last-mentioned bandages also furnished the dates: Years 8 and 10 of Siamun;
- Papyri Cairo 18 and 88: coffins of the type III-a, dated to the period between the middle 21st Dyn. and the early 22nd dyn.<sup>45</sup> are connected with the papyri.

<sup>45</sup> Niwiński, op. cit., § 71.

b. Subtype A.III.1b. Other papyri with BD-motives (Pls 42c - 47b)

§ 60.

To this subtype 30 papyri have been ascribed, which makes about 13% of the total of the A-category manuscripts listed in the present work. From these, 19 papyri have already been published<sup>46</sup>. Titles appear on 7 papyri; 11 papyri belonged to the funerary ensembles together with another manuscripts of the BD-category, while 6 papyri - with a second papyrus of the A-category, sometimes of the same type.

The following features can be considered characteristic for this group:

- The etiquette or substitute etiquette on the right is always present; it is an integral part of the papyrus;
- The papyri consist, for the major part, of figural representations. The figures are usually colourfully painted; occasionally, however, the black-and-red type of the decoration may appear. The arrangement of figures is different in every separate papyrus; often no dividing lines are drafted, and the figures are painted closely one to other, according to the rule of horror vacui;
- Among the figures, the motives of the Book of the Dead can be distinguished, however, these can sometimes be much transformed, being only an echo of the classical version of a BD-vignette. Besides the BD-motives the iconographic repertoire comprises different scenes, which are creations of the 21st Dynasty artists. Some of these scenes continue the tradition of the complex theological figural compositions introduced early in the period.

Because a major part of these interesting papyri<sup>47</sup> have

<sup>46</sup> Ledrain 1870, pp.89-95 (pap. Paris 1); Lanzzone 1882, pls 157, 159 (pap. London 7 and 36); Piankoff 1935, passim (pap. Paris 39); Schott 1938, passim (pap. Berlin 24); Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., "papyri nos 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22" (pap. Cairo 10, 71, 89, 95, 96, 107, 115, 123, pap. Florenz, pap. Luxor 2. pap. Paris 41, 50, pap. Vienna 1); one scene from the pap. Cairo 2 was published by Winlock 1926, p.30, fig.36.

<sup>47</sup> They have been often given the designation "mythological papyri"; however, cf. § 31. above.

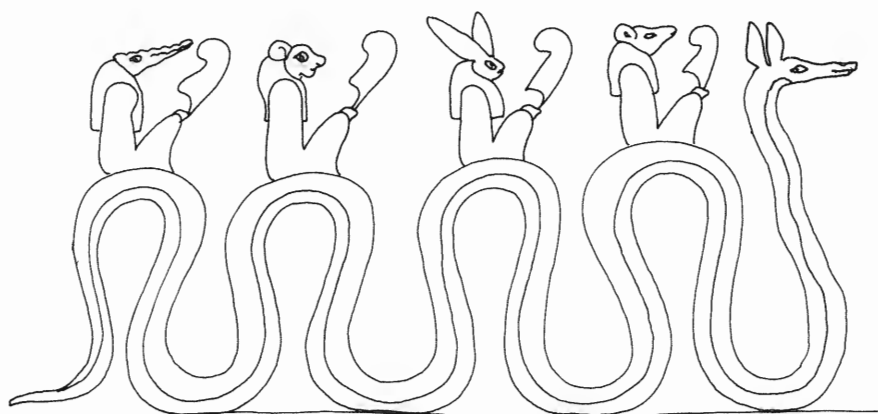


Fig. 70



Fig. 71

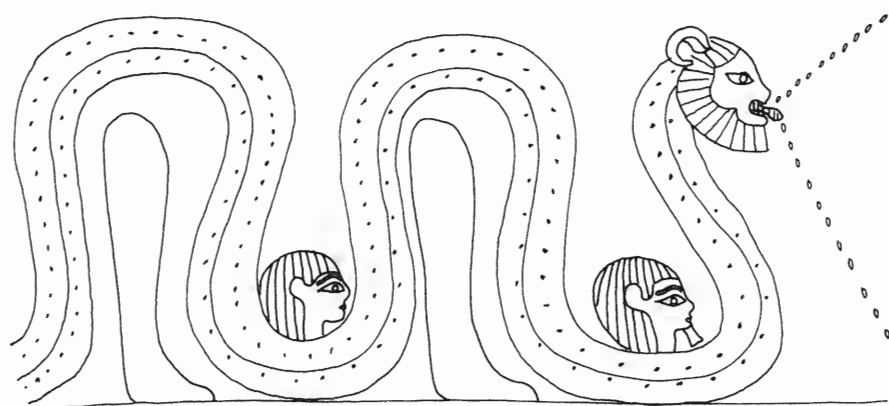


Fig. 72



been published, the illustrations in publications, especially that by Piankoff and Rambova 1957, can be pointed to, in order to follow the ancient Egyptian way of expressing the religious ideas in figures. Photographs of four further papyri are presented in this work on the Pls 42c (pap. Berlin 23), 43-44 (pap. Cairo 84), 45-46 (pap. London 5'), and 46b-47b (pap. London 24). One can also point to some unusual iconographic representations on the papyri of the A.III.1b-type. A series of atypical but simple figures were represented on the papyri Cairo 2 and 3 (Figs. 70-72). From the pap. Berlin 23 one scene can be mentioned, being an allusion to the BD 186: instead of the cosmic Cow, however, a ram emerges from the Western Mountain (Fig. 73). More complicated scenes from the papyri

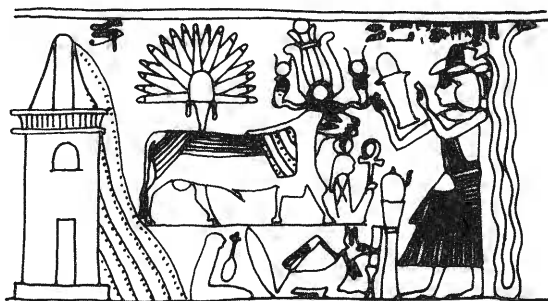


Fig. 73

London 36 and Turin 2 are shown on the Figs. 74-76.

Besides the new motives and scenes, "classical" figures known from the BD-papyri can also be encountered. In the pap. Cairo 95, for example, the last fragment contains a series of the BD-vignettes, which recall those in the hieratic papyri Cairo 32, Cairo 44, etc. (of the BD.II.2-type)<sup>48</sup>. The pap. Cairo 84 presents a number of skilfully executed vignettes, among others to some of the "transformations chapters" (Pls 43-44). By the way, this papyrus is analogous in contents with two others of the same group: pap. Cairo 10 and Luxor 2<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., "pap. no 22".

<sup>49</sup> op. cit., "pap. 4 and 5".



Fig. 74

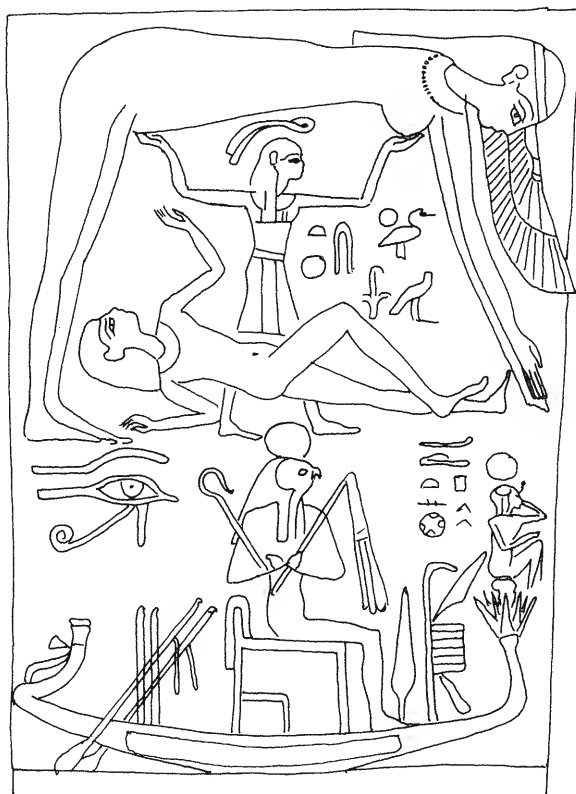


Fig. 75

The number of the BD-vignettes recorded in the papyri of this group causes that they recall sometimes very much some papyri of the BD.III.1-type. Both types of manuscripts were undoubtedly produced in the same Theban workshops and sometimes even the individual style of an artist is recognizable (for example papyri London 5 and Cambridge, or Berlin 23 and London 7). It is, therefore, probable that the artist prepared - to order or in advance - pairs of funerary papyri, and that the decision, which papyrus should belong to which of the two categories, was taken in the workshop. Some examples of pairs of funerary papyri belonging to the same A-category probably testify to some confusion made by the ancient artists themselves (cf. the preceding § 59).

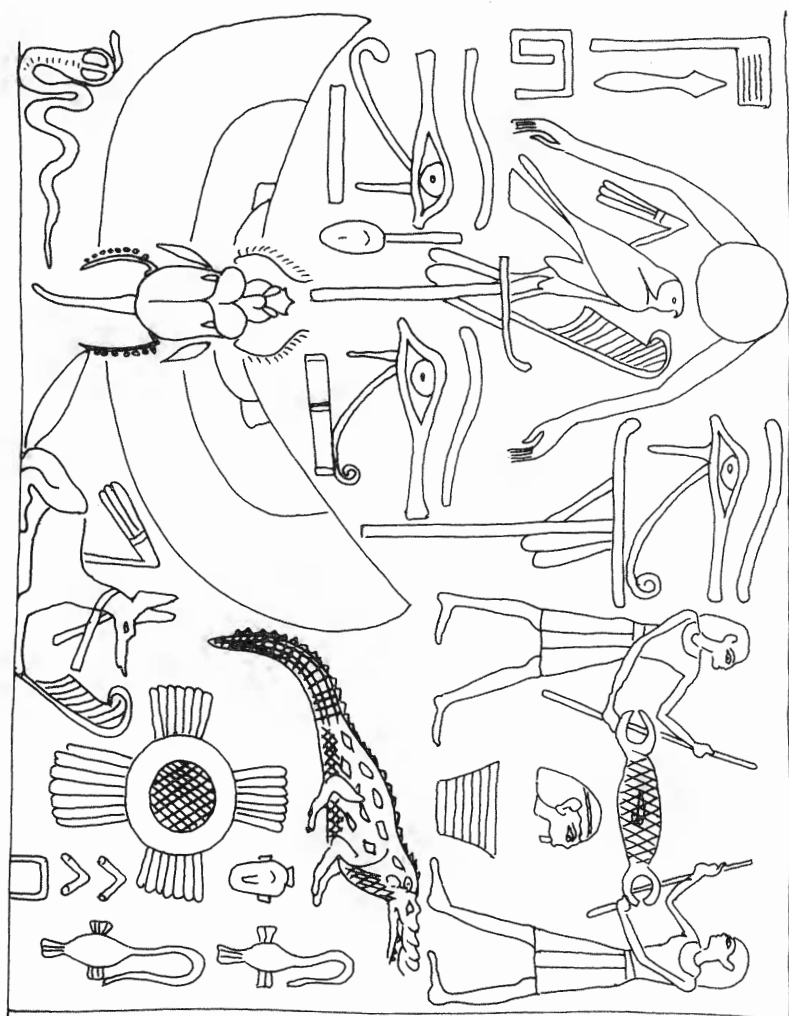


Fig. 76

The following papyri can be of assistance in dating the type:

- Papyri Cairo 2 and 3 belonged to Henuttawy, daughter of the HP Pinudjem I;
- Papyri Cairo 8, 16, 21 and 119: in the funerary ensembles of these mummy-braces of the HP Menkheperre were found;
- Papyri Cairo 84, 107 and 123: mummy-braces with the name of the HP Pinudjem II have been found with the owners of these papyri;
- Pap. Cairo 89 belonged to Herytuben, granddaughter of the HP Menkheperre; she died under the King Siamun and the HP Psusennes;
- Pap. London 36 belonged to another granddaughter of Menkheperre;
- Papyri Cairo 115, London 24, Paris 1 and Vienna 1 are connected with the coffins of type II-a. This type was the earliest one in the 21st Dynasty, and it survived until the pontificate of Pinudjem II<sup>50</sup>;
- Papyri Avignon, Cairo 10 and Cairo 71 are connected with coffins of type III-a. It was introduced under the late pontificate of Menkheperre, and it was used till the early 22nd Dyn.<sup>51</sup>.

In conclusion, the figural papyri of the A.III.1b-type were in the use in Thebes under Menkheperre, and later, till the end of the 21st Dynasty. This type of the A-category papyri preceded the A.II.-types (with the elements of the royal Amduat), and later it was used parallelly with them.

B - Type A.III.2. Manuscripts containing various elements derived from the Book of the Dead, the Amduat and other funerary royal compositions

a. Subtype A.III.2a. Hieroglyphic manuscripts (Pls 48a-b)

§ 61.

To this subtype 28 papyri have been ascribed, which makes about 12% of all the papyri of the A-category listed in this

<sup>50</sup> Miwiński, op. cit., § 67.

<sup>51</sup> op. cit., § 71.

work. From these, 19 papyri have already been published <sup>52</sup>. On one papyrus the title has been found; 11 papyri have their counterparts in the BD-category.

The papyri of this subtype can be distinguished by the following characteristics:

- The etiquette is not always present in the papyrus;
- The manuscripts consist mostly of figural representations; the whole decoration or its fragments can be arranged in horizontal registers; figures can be outlined in black ink (with addition of some elements in red), or they can be painted with the use of various colours;
- The manuscripts contain various mixed motives of different origin. Some motives recall vignettes of the Book of the Dead, some figures derive from the iconographic repertoire of the royal Amduat and other Books of the Underworld.

From the typological viewpoint, papyri of the type A.III.2a, of the most compound iconographic character, can be interpreted as a result of a loose combination of various elements characteristic for the types A.II.2 and A.III.1. Since hardly two analogous to each other papyri can be found within this group, it seems that the artists producing these, felt themselves absolutely free to decide, which motives from the very rich repertoire of iconographic patterns they wanted to copy or imitate. In this situation, a number of scenes encountered in the papyri of this type appear to be unique effects of the creative transformation of some well-known motives, and the composition of these on the papyrus surface, due to an individual taste of the artist.

The most characteristic feature repeated in these papyri, which is a conditio sine qua non for their affiliation to this

<sup>52</sup> Blackman 1914, passim (pap. Oxford 2); Minneapolis Bulletin 1916, p.59, and Handbook 1917, p.27 (pap. Minneapolis); De Ruck 1938, pp.305-306, fig.3 + Heerma van Voss 1974a, pp. 331-334, fig.93 (pap. Haag); Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit. "pap. 6, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30" (papyri Cairo 12, 28, 68, 72, 92, 104, 128; New York 8, 10; Paris 6, 33; Turin 10); Varga 1964, pp.20-21, pl.12 (pap. Budapest, fragment); Sadek, op. cit., "pap. C.29 - C.32" (pap. Cairo 7, 23, 74 and 78).

type, is an occurrence, in the same manuscript, of the motives derived from different religious compositions. The simplest of such combinations is that of the royal Amduat-motives with some atypically transformed vignettes from the Book of the Dead. Examples are furnished by the pap. Berlin 25 (Pl.48a), or the pap. Cairo 104. Some atypical transformations of the Amduat-motives are found, among others, in the papyri: Minne-apolis (Pl.48b), Budapest (Fig.77), Haag <sup>53</sup>, and London 19

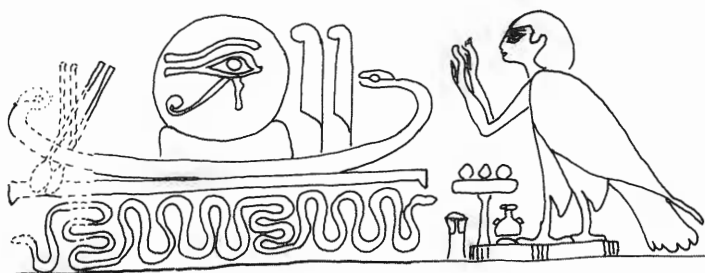


Fig. 77

(Fig. 78). On some papyri motives from the Book of the Gates

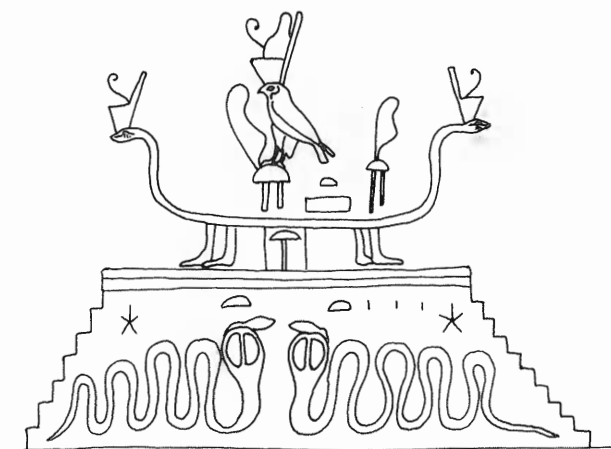


Fig. 78

<sup>53</sup> This scene is published by De Buck 1938, fig.3.

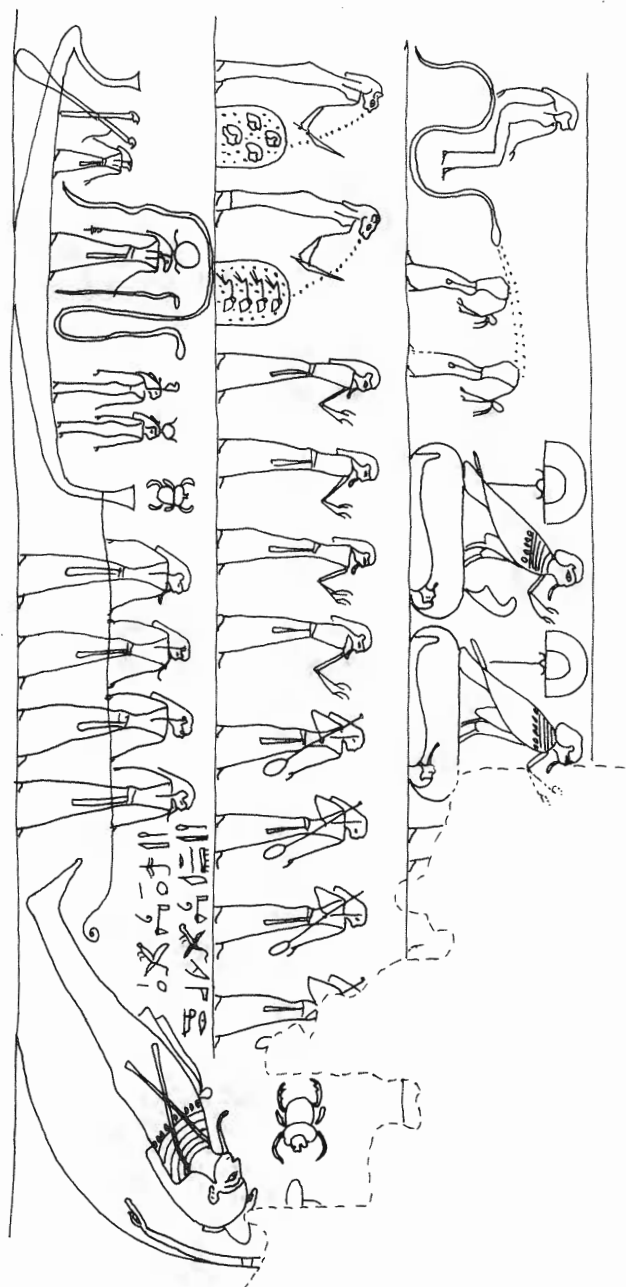


Fig. 79



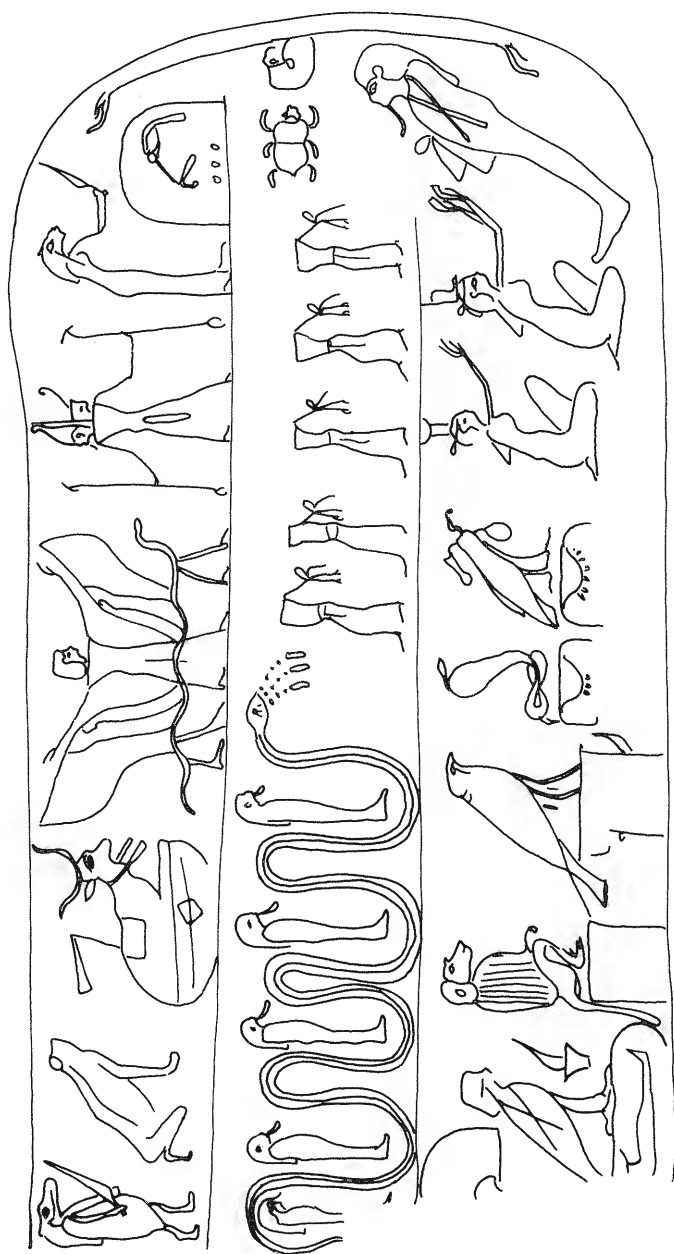


Fig. 80

appear <sup>54</sup>, sometimes combined with the figures from Amduat and the Book of the Earth (Figs. 79-80 ; the papyri Paris 25 and Paris 17). It can be observed that in the papyri of this type, the Amduat-motives of the last four divisions (9th -12th Hour of Amduat) are sometimes supplemented with the figures from other divisions, for instance from the 3rd Hour <sup>55</sup> (Fig.81 from pap. Marseille 3). Finally, motives from other composi-

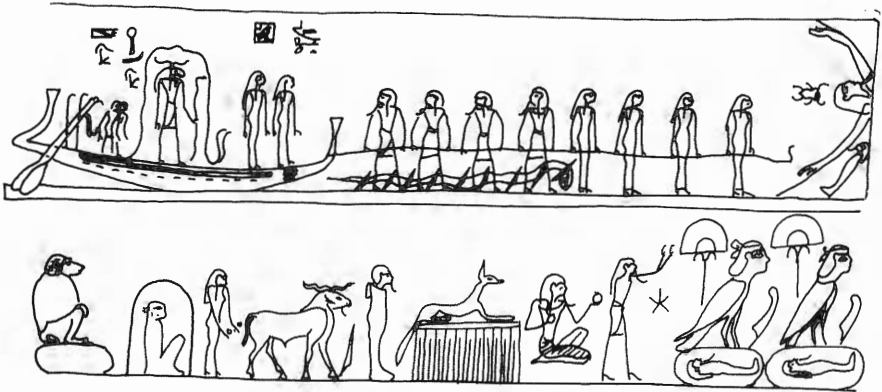


Fig. 81

tions being in some relation to the Books of the Underworld can be mentioned (Fig.82 from the pap. Cairo 12) <sup>56</sup>.

The dating of the papyri of this type can be attempted on the evidence connected with the following manuscripts:

- Pap. Cairo 128: mummy-braces of the HP Pinudjem II were found on the mummy of its owner;
- Pap. Cairo 12: mummy-linen with the name of the HP Psusen-nes, and the date: Year 12 originate from the funerary ensemble of this papyrus;

<sup>54</sup> For example, on the pap. Paris 6; cf. Piankoff and Rambova op. cit., p.49 fig.33; cf. also Miwiński 1983,p.82,fig.5.

<sup>55</sup> This is in contradiction with some of Sadek's opinions, cf. Sadek, op. cit., pp.324-326.

<sup>56</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., p.190, fig.70; this scene appears to be in a relation to the representation of Nut, known from the Osireion in Abydos and from the tomb of Ramesses VI; cf. Hornung 1972, pp.485-486 ("Das Nut-Bild").

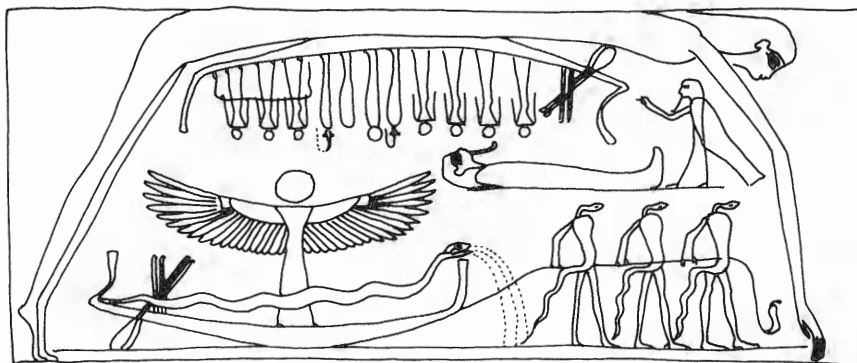


Fig. 82

- Papyri Cairo 7 and New York 10 are connected with coffins of the type II-d, in use in Thebes in the late 21st Dyn., under HP Pinudjem II and HP Psusennes<sup>57</sup>;
- Papyri New York 8 and Cairo 92 originate from the same funerary ensembles as coffins of the III-a type, used between the middle 21st Dyn. and the early 22nd Dyn.<sup>58</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 104 was connected in its funerary ensemble with coffins of the types II-c and IV-a, which can be dated to the pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II<sup>59</sup>;
- Pap. Cairo 74 originates from the same funerary ensemble as a coffin of the V-type. This was the latest type of the coffins in the use in Thebes in the late 21st and the early 22nd Dyn.

In conclusion, the papyri of the type A.III.2a were produced in some Theban workshops during the pontificates of the HP Pinudjem II and Psusennes, and the latest manuscripts can even have been as late as the early 22nd Dynasty.

b. Subtype A.III.2b. Hieratic manuscripts (Pl. 49a - c)

§ 62.

Only two papyri can be ascribed to this subtype: pap. London 59<sup>60</sup> and pap. Turin 18. The former manuscript belonged

<sup>57</sup> Miwiński, op. cit., § 70.

<sup>58</sup> op. cit., § 71.

<sup>59</sup> op. cit., §§ 69 and 74.

to Nodjmet, Herihor's wife. The papyrus contains, after an interesting double etiquette (Pl.49a), the texts, written in hieratic "pages", of the BD-chapters 148, 125, 129, 101, 139 and 1B, and an unknown ritual text: "The Chapter of Bringing the Crown of Triumph at the Wag-festival". The illustrations to these texts are derived from the repertoire of the Books of the Underworld, especially the Books of Caverns (Pls.49b-c). This papyrus is an exceptional phenomenon, especially from the point of view of the chronology. The date of the death of Nodjmet has long been discussed, but it seems now probable, it should be ascribed to the early reign of Psusennes I<sup>61</sup>. This date seems, however, to be too early for the papyrus containing excerpts or illustrations from the royal composition, the Book of the Cavern was. Only two explanations of the problem can be presented.

1. The papyrus was contemporary with the time of Nodjmet's death, i.e. it originates from the period of the King Psusennes I's reign. The atypical contents of the papyrus would in such a situation be indicative of an extraordinary privilege, Nodjmet was given from the reigning King. This seems probable, because Nodjmet was mother of King Nephcheres, who probably was at that time the co-regent of Psusennes I<sup>62</sup>.
2. The papyrus is of a later date, i.e. it was produced not earlier than in the last pontifical years of the HP Menkheperre, and probably it might have originated from the pontifical period of Pinudjem II. The explanation of such a post-mortem completion of the funerary equipment of Nodjmet some 50 years or more after her death would be related to her reburial. It is feasible that the original A-papyrus of Nodjmet, wrapped in the bandages was destroyed by thieves who plundered her mummy, and it was replaced by another papyrus at her reburial.

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<sup>60</sup> Published by Budge 1899.

<sup>61</sup> Miwiński, op. cit., § 39.

<sup>62</sup> op. cit., § 42.

Both conjectures seem probable, although the fact that the pap. London 59 was written in hieratic seems to be indicative to the second variant.

The second papyrus of this small subtype (pap. Turin 18) begins with a hieratic text in two "pages", which is followed by some figural representations from Amduat (12 Hour) and the Book of the Earth. This papyrus is connected with no chronological hints, except for its style, which appears to be relatively late (the late 21st Dynasty or later).



Chapter VI. Some supplementary observations on the papyri and the concluding remarks

1. Ensembles of BD + A papyri

§ 63.

Attention has already been drawn on several occasions in this work to the fact that from the early 21st Dynasty ensembles of two funerary papyri occurred in Thebes. One papyrus, usually enclosed in an Osirian papyrus-sheath, represented the BD-category, while the second, in most instances placed on the mummy itself and wrapped in bandages together with it, belonged to the A-category. Such a situation corresponds to the religious prescription, and obviously presents an ideal picture. However, the theory and the practice did not always coincide. In many instances only one papyrus belonged to the funeral equipment of the deceased, sometimes there were no papyri at all with the mummy. An interesting case has been mentioned by Daressy, who opened most of the mummies from the Second Cachette in Deir el-Bahari: on one mummy the papyrus was absent, but in the traditional spot between the legs of it, a stick was found instead <sup>1</sup>.

Among the papyri listed in Part Two of this work, 68 ensembles have been distinguished, which corresponds to about 1/3 of all the manuscripts involved. To conclude from this, most priests of the period of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. possessed only one manuscript, (and many others probably no papyri at all) in their funerary equipments. A complete list of the ensembles which I was able to reconstruct after comparing names and titles of the papyri owners, and also in respect of the style of the papyri, is presented in TABLE XVa. In TABLE XVb all the kinds of the connections between various types of the papyri occurring within the same ensemble can be followed. The most typical pairs of the manuscripts are:

<sup>1</sup> Daressy 1907, p.34, no 130: "Entre les jambes, au lieu de papyrus était placé un bâton de 0 m 35 cent. de longueur." No papyrus can be ascribed to this mummy from among those furnished by the papyrus-sheaths, either.

- BD.III.1a + A.I.1
- BD.I.2 + A.II.1
- BD.I.2 + A.III.2a
- BD.III.1a + A.III.1b

It is, however, fair to say that in practice almost all the possibilities of the combinations of the types of papyri can be encountered. It is also difficult to draw conclusions from the size or style of one papyrus, about the other manuscript from the same ensemble. Sometimes the papyri are very alike each other, sometimes they are in striking contrast.

The ensembles of the papyri were steadily in the use since their earliest occurrence in the Renaissance Era (cf. the papyri New York 13 and 14 belonging to the HP Merihor's daughter Many) until the 22nd Dyn. (pap. Leningrad 4 and 5 of a grandson of the King Osorkon I). In the early 21st Dynasty they represented the most common combination of the BD.III.1a and the A.I.1-types. Afterwards, in the middle 21st Dyn. various combinations occurred, which probably reflects a greater number of the workshops active in Thebes in those days. Beginning with the late 21st Dyn. another typical ensemble was developed: a hieratic BD-papyrus + an A-manuscript containing more or less faithful copies of the motives from the royal Amduat. Other combinations, however, are encountered as well.

As it can be observed on TABLES XV and XVI, in some instances a third (or even fourth) papyrus was enclosed in the funerary ensemble, which has been given a designation U (= unclassified) in the present work. These U-papyri were, as a rule, non-illustrated, and they mostly contained some atypical religious-magical texts. Although the papyri without illustrations are, in general, of little importance to the present study, they shall be briefly discussed in the next paragraph.

#### Excursus B: Non-illustrated papyri in the funerary equipment of the 21st Dynasty

§ 64.

In the present work, as stressed in the title, the accent is laid on illustrated funerary papyri. Exceptions to the rule are only the papyri closely connected with the illustrated



manuscripts, which is owing to 1/. analogous contents, or 2/. association in the same funerary ensemble. All the papyri without illustrations are written in hieratic. In the present work these non-illustrated papyri have been designed by the capital letters instead of numbers (for example, London A).

Several different groups of the non-illustrated papyri are distinguishable:

- a/. Papyri containing exclusively excerpts from the Book of the Dead, analogous to the hieratic manuscripts, the only illustration of which is the etiquette. Such papyri have been counted in this work among the manuscripts of the BD.I.2-type (cf. §.43. above, and Pl.6a).
- b/. Papyri with some atypical texts of magical contents, sometimes supplemented with fragments of the BD-chapters (among others BD 27, 135, 162, 166, 182). Some manuscripts of this kind have already been published <sup>2</sup>. Such papyri accompanying other illustrated manuscripts, have in some instances been found on mummies. A number of these "magical papyri" originate from the Bab el-Gusus tomb. The papyri were sometimes deposited on the breast, sometimes between the legs, but other characteristic places of the mummy are also encountered: near the armpits <sup>3</sup>, or on the neck <sup>4</sup>. On some papyri a title was recorded, corresponding to the last-mentioned depositing place: "Book that was found at neck of the mummy of King Ramesses II in the necropolis", or "Book that was found at neck of Osiris, musician of Amun, Isis" <sup>5</sup>. These small papyri, counted among the II-category in the present work, occurred in funeral equipments together with the papyri of the types BD.II.1, BD.II.2, BD.III.1a, A.II.1a, A.II.1b, A.III.1a and A.III.1b.

<sup>2</sup> Hieratische Papyrus... Berlin 1901-1911, vol.II,p.2, pls. 48-51; Golenischeff 1927, pp.1-23, 99-113, pls.1-4, 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Daressy, op. cit., p.37 (no 150): "Deux petits papyrus étaient placés l'un sous l'aisselle droite, l'autre sur le flanc gauche".

<sup>4</sup> op. cit., p.29 (no 91), and p.36 (no 139): "En avant du cou était placé un petit papyrus plié".

<sup>5</sup> Golenischeff, op. cit., p.1 note 1; cf. also § 4. above.

c/. Papyri containing the deification decrees of Amun in favour of some personages of a high rank. Three such papyri have been found in the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari with the mummies of Mesikhons (pap. Cairo A), Pinudjem II (pap. Cairo C), and Djedptahiufankh (pap. loc. unkn. 7)<sup>6</sup>. Two of them have been published<sup>7</sup>. These papyri, also counted among the U-category occurred in the funerary equipments together with the types BD.I.2, BD.II.2 and A.II.1a of the illustrated papyri.

d/. The papyrus Berlin B represents perhaps the group of model-papyri serving the scribes for copying the BD-texts (cf. Chapter IV, § 45, note 38 above).

The earliest U-papyri, according to the chronological information gained from the funerary ensembles (mummy-braces, mummy-linen and coffins) occurred in the reign of Amenemope and the pontificate of Pinudjem II (papyri Cairo A, B, D, E, G, H, I, J). The deification decrees date to the reign of Siamun, Year 5 (pap. Cairo A), Siamun, Year 10 (pap. Cairo C), and the early 22nd Dyn. (probably the Year 11 + X of Sheshonq I; the pap. loc. unkn. 7).

## 2. Papyri as a source of information about the social status of their possessors

### § 65.

The role of the economic factor has already been mentioned in this work (cf. §§ 32, 55, 56). Most of the funerary papyri of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. are of much smaller size than their predecessors of the New Kingdom. On the other hand, in

<sup>6</sup>Maspero 1889a, p.572 (the mummy of Pinudjem II): "Un papyrus de 2 m 20 de longueur, contenant plusieurs décrets d'Amon, était allongé sur la poitrine et sur le ventre plié en deux et non roulé"; op. cit., p.574 (the mummy of Djedptahiufankh): "Le papyrus contenant les décrets d'Amon était tendu sur la poitrine et sur le ventre".

<sup>7</sup>Maspero, op. cit., pp.594-614; Golenischeff 1927, pp.169-209, pls.30-34; Gunn and Edwards 1955, passim; cf. also Miwiński, forthcoming 3, passim.

the 21st and the 22nd Dynasties many more papyri were produced than ever before. A great majority of the manuscripts known to us originate from the period of the late 21st Dynasty, and it seems that only two alternative explanations of this fact can be offered: 1). The basis of our sources is casual, and new tomb-caches (like that in the Bab el-Gusus tomb) dating from the early and middle 21st Dyn. are likely to be discovered in the future, or 2). The state of our sources concerning the funerary manuscripts of the period of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. reflects the real proportions between the number of the papyri of the early and the middle 21st Dyn., and that of later years. Assuming the latter possibility to be true, we would envisage a process of the development of democratic trends towards possessing of a funerary equipment consisting of the same elements by every citizen of the Theban "State of Amun". In fact, from the point of view of the religious contents of the papyri, no essential differences between the manuscripts belonging to the High Priests of Amun and those owned by persons without any outstanding titles can be observed. This corresponds to the conclusion drawn from the analysis of the decoration of the coffins in the same period<sup>8</sup>. The only difference observable between the funerary papyri of some high officials and those of other persons consists in size and quality of the execution of the manuscripts, which seems to have been a direct consequence of the varying personal wealth of the priests.

Differences in quality and style of the papyri reflects the diversity of Theban workshops of those days. The best workshops, where skilful artists were employed, having at their disposal good patterns of the texts and scenes of various religious compositions, probably produced funerary manuscripts only to some rich clients' orders. In other workshops made-in-advance papyri were produced, which differed in quality and in contents; these being in turn reflected by varying price. A relatively great number of manuscripts characterized by small size and the abbreviated and often very con-

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<sup>8</sup> Niwiński 1988, § 102.

fused contents, and, moreover, representing rather poor style, is indicative of a high percentage of unpropertied people among Theban priests in the late 21st Dynasty. In those days social inequalities among the citizens of the "State of Amun" must have been considerable. While poor quality papyri of the types BD.III.1b or A.II.2a-b are often encountered in the funerary ensembles of the period beginning in the late pontificate of the HP Pinudjem II, some manuscripts belonging to the High Priest's family members (for instance Nesikhons, pap. Cairo 109, Gatseshen, pap. Cairo 32 and 94, Tjanefer, pap. Cairo 33 and 81, and Pinudjem II himself, pap. Cairo 114 and London 63) represent at the same time a luxurious standard. These contrasts, as well as a new wave of tomb robberies, which caused an application of special precautionary measures to protect mummies of kings and priests against sacrilege<sup>9</sup>, seem to testify to a general pauperization of the major part of the Theban society in the late 21st Dynasty.

In Chapter II a passage from the book of d'Athanasii of 1836 has been quoted (cf. § 28 above), from which we learn that from among 60 or 70 mummies found in a great cache of the 21st Dynasty only "...perhaps ten or a dozen" contained papyri, and that the poor mummies were sometimes found lying two in one case. Another fragment from the old literature<sup>10</sup> is worth quoting here, supporting the picture of social inequalities.

"In the same pit where I found mummies in cases, I found others without; and in these, papyri are most likely to be met with. I remarked that the mummies in the cases have no papyri; at least, I never observed any: on the contrary, in those without cases they are often obtained. It appears to me that such people as could afford it would have a case to be buried in, on which the history of their lives was painted: and those who could not afford a case, were contented to have their lives written on papyri, rolled up, and placed above their knees."

One can presume that this observation was made by Belzoni either on the occasion of exploring a later tomb-cache than

<sup>9</sup> About the creation of the well guarded cemetery of those days within the Deir el-Bahari area, cf. Niwiński 1984b, *passim*; id. 1988, § 29.

<sup>10</sup> Belzoni 1835, p.157.

that of the 21st Dynasty (since the mummies of that period were often supplied both with coffins and papyri), or it concerned a 21st Dyn. cachette intended to receive mummies of the people of lower rank than those buried in the priests' tombs like the Bab el-Gusus. However, an observation of the attentive explorer Belzoni was, that coffins might have been regarded in ancient Egypt as more important than papyri, seems to be correct. All the 153 mummies in the Second Cachette in Deir el-Bahari were deposited in coffins (102 of these were double ones, consisting of outer and inner coffin), but not every mummy was accompanied with a papyrus. Moreover, most papyri have been found on the mummies lying in double coffins, while mummies from single coffins usually had no papyrus.

The optimum funerary ensemble in the period of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. comprised a double coffin, a BD-papyrus enclosed in the Osirian statuette, and an A-papyrus wrapped in the bandages together with the mummy (papyri of large size and good quality being regarded as most desirable). If a priest's resources excluded possessing of the whole ensemble in its most desired shape, an outer coffin and the large size of the papyri were resigned first, then one or both papyri. Somebody, for whom even a single coffin was too expensive, contented himself probably with a small funerary papyrus. Poor people buried without coffins or papyri could only rely on the magical protection furnished by the religious texts and representations on papyri and coffins belonging to other deceased persons lying in the same tomb-cachette.

### 3. The religious contents of the funerary papyri compared with that of the coffins

#### § 66.

The above-quoted remarks of Belzoni may suggest that funerary papyri were alternative bearers of the religious substance in respect to coffins, as they were similarly substitutes for tomb decoration in the New Kingdom (cf. §§17-18 above). To verify this, a number of the 21st Dyn. coffins and papyri should be compared from the point of view of their iconographic repertoire. It has already been mentioned (cf. § 21.above)

that in the early 21st Dyn. the exterior side walls of the cases of inner coffins were used as additional decorated surface to receive new iconographic compositions reflecting the theological concepts of those days (we shall call these scenes "the classical repertoire"). Any comparison of the contents of papyri and that of the decoration of the coffins should be, as it seems, limited only to these parts of the coffins (i.e. exterior and, occasionally also interior surface of the side walls of the coffin cases), because of their resemblance in shape with an unrolled papyrus.

The earliest funerary ensemble, in which the contents of two papyri and two coffins can be compared, is that of Nany, Herihor's daughter, who died in the early 21st Dyn., presumably under the reign of the King Smendes. The papyri represent the Book of the Dead in its new redaction (the type BD.III.1a; pap. New York 13), and the early md't lmy D't-papyrus with the forms of the Great God (the type A.I.1; pap. New York 14). The outer coffin of Nany (New York, MMA 30.3.23) is decorated with traditional motives of the Sons of Horus, inherited from the repertoire of New Kingdom coffins. The inner coffin (MMA 30.3.24) contains a number of new iconographic compositions belonging to the "classical repertoire" referred to in § 21 (cf. Figs 2-6). The interior of both coffins is undecorated.

To conclude from this brief comparison, the contents of the coffin decoration was an addition, enlargement of that offered by both papyri, and no part of the repertoire was doubled in the funerary ensemble.

To the reign of Smendes the ensemble of Sutes can also be ascribed. The papyrus of the type BD.II.1 (pap. Paris 4) recalls manuscripts of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom. For a mummy of the early 21st Dynasty, the motives of the Litany of Re on a second papyrus (of the type A.I.1) would be expected. However, no such a manuscript of Sutes has been found. The expected iconographic repertoire we find instead painted on the exterior side walls of the outer coffin of the same owner (Paris, Louvre N.2609). New compositions and new "figural editions" of some BD-motives (i.e. the "classical repertoire") are painted on the exterior walls of the inner coffin, N.2610. Among others, the scene of the Weighing

of the Heart appears there, which can be regarded as a partial repetition of the repertoire found on the papyrus. Except for this, the decoration of both coffins represents a supplement to the contents of the papyrus.

For the subsequent 50 years (the reign of Psusennes I and the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre) no satisfactory comparative work can be offered, because of a lack of the appropriate research material <sup>11</sup>. Beginning from the last years of Menkheperre and Psusennes, instead, the possibility of the studies of this kind increase in number. The contents of two papyri of Userhatmes <sup>12</sup>: the BD-papyrus Cairo 86 (of the type BD.III.1a, cf. Pls 22b-25b) and the A-papyrus Cairo 62 (of the type A.I.1) <sup>13</sup> can be compared with the double coffin in Cairo Museum (J.29661). Two motives: of the BD 125 (the Judgement Scene) and of the BD 186 (the cosmic Cow emerging from the Western Mountain) appear both on the papyrus and on the two coffins. With this exception, the repertoire of the coffins (very similar on the outer coffin and on the inner one) does not repeat the motives of the papyri (which are very different on both manuscripts). Thus, the situation seems not to have changed much since the period of Smendes' reign. The walls of both coffins of Userhatmes are still decorated with the scenes of the "classical" iconographic repertoire introduced early in the 21st Dynasty (an example of these is presented in Fig.83).

Probably to the same period the funerary ensemble of a certain Ahaneferamun called Pakhar belongs, of which two papyri: Cairo 42 (the type A.I.1) <sup>14</sup> and a BD-papyrus Cairo 129 <sup>15</sup>, as well as the double coffin J.29670 are preserved in the EM Cairo. The walls of the outer coffin are covered with the "classi-

<sup>11</sup> Some funerary ensembles datable to this period (like those of the HP Masaharti or of Maatkare, Pinudjem I's daughter seem not to be complete, and they are, therefore, omitted.

<sup>12</sup> On his mummy, mummy-braces with the name of the HP Pinudjem II and two bandages with the dates: "Year 48 of HP Menkheperre" and "Year 1" (probably of Amenemope) were found.

<sup>13</sup> Published by Piankoff 1964a, pp.120-128, 173-175.

<sup>14</sup> op. cit., pp.66-71, 133-137.

<sup>15</sup> I was not able to see this papyrus; it seems not to be in-

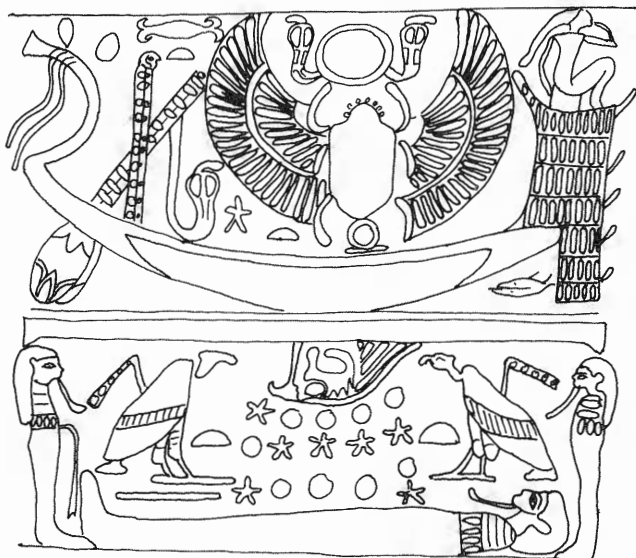


Fig. 83

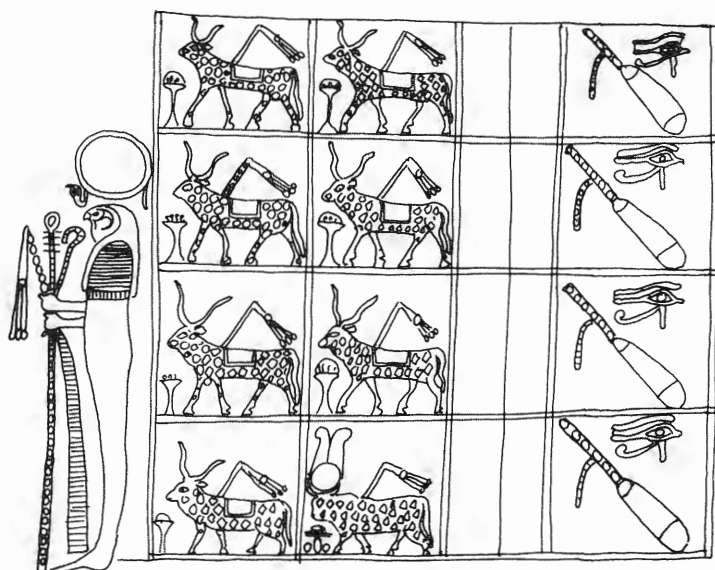


Fig. 84



cal repertoire", among others the scene with Geb and Nut. The same scene appears also on the inner coffin, which is, however decorated mostly with the motives of the Book of the Dead: chapters BD 59/63, BD 125 and BD 148 (cf. Fig.84).

Fortunately, we can have insight in the contents of the funerary ensemble of the son of the above-mentioned Pakhar, Padiamun <sup>16</sup>. The BD-papyrus is of the type BD.II.2 (pap. Cairo 44, Pls.11-16), and the A-papyrus of the type A.III.1b (Cairo 107) <sup>17</sup>. The double coffin in EM Cairo (J.29666) shows some features of archaization; on the walls of the outer case the old motives of the Sons of Horus reappear. The walls of the inner coffin contain a developed "classical" iconographic repertoire; besides the typical compound compositions known since the early 21st Dynasty (Geb and Nut, the Great Serpent on a Double Staircase, resurrection of the mummy) and the BD-motives (the Judgement, the Sycamore Goddess, cf. Fig.5), some new figural representations appear, reflecting ritual performances of the Feast of Sokar (Fig.85). Several motives of this repertoire (for instance the scene with the Great Serpent on the Staircase) are repeated on the A-papyrus of Padiamun.



Fig. 85

Some scenes on the coffin of Padiamun are analogous with those on the coffin of Khonsmes (Marseille, Musée Borély, no 253), and both men lived in the same period of the middle 21st Dynasty, and they died probably in the period when Pinudjem II was the Theban pontiff. Two papyri of Khonsmes: the BD.II.1-papyrus (Paris 12) and the A.III.1b-papyrus (Vienna 1) <sup>18</sup> are known. Again, the

cluded in the Special Register; the inventory number is J.95705. The papyrus is not exhibited.

<sup>16</sup> Dated to the period of the HP Pinudjem II by means of the mummy-braces.

<sup>17</sup> Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.109-116 ("pap. no.10").

<sup>18</sup> op. cit., pp.143-149 ("pap. nos 16-17").

A-papyrus contains several BD-motives in addition to other compositions, but only the Judgement-scenes appear on both papyri. On the coffin, the scene with the Sycamore Goddess and that being illustration to the chapter BD 125 are repeated; other scenes supplement the repertoire of the papyri.

To the period of the same pontificate the funerary ensemble of Taudjatre can be dated <sup>19</sup>, represented by the Cairo papyri 118 (the type BD.III.1a) <sup>20</sup> and 122 (the type A.I.1) <sup>21</sup>, and the double coffin Cairo J.29737. On the outer coffin several scenes related to the "classical repertoire" appear, which avoids repeated occurrence of the motives from the BD-papyrus. On the contrary, the decoration of the inner coffin consists mostly of a series of figures, which represent the forms of the Great God, exactly like the A-papyrus of Taudjatre (cf. Fig.57b). However, only a few figures of the divine forms are repeated on the papyrus and on the coffin.

The next well datable funerary ensemble, the elements of which we can compare, is that of the HP Pinudjem II himself, who died in the Year 10 of Siamun. The BD-papyrus of Pinudjem (pap. London 63) belongs to the type BD.I.2, and his A-papyrus to the type A.II.1a (pap. Cairo 114). The coffin of Pinudjem in the EM Cairo has the J-number 26197. The coffin presents some archaization-features, since the motif of the Sons of Horus appears on both the outer and inner coffin, supplemented by few scenes of the "classical repertoire". Since the BD-papyrus has no illustrations (except for the etiquette), and the A-papyrus represents the motives of the royal Amduat, there is not one iconographic element doubled in this funerary ensemble.

Herytuben - the granddaughter of the HP Menkheperre, though one generation younger than Pinudjem, died only few years after him <sup>22</sup>. Both papyri of her ensemble have been twice pub-

<sup>19</sup> The date has been furnished by the mummy-braces of Pinudjem.

<sup>20</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pp.133-142 ("pap. no 15").

<sup>21</sup> Piankoff 1964a, pp.84-97, 147-157.

<sup>22</sup> On her mummy, mummy-linen with the date:"Year 8 of King Siamun" as well as mummy-braces of the period of Psusennes have been found.

lished by Piankoff <sup>23</sup>. They belong to the types BD.III.1a (pap. Cairo 91) and A.III.2a (pap. Cairo 89). The BD-papyrus comprises some interesting variants of the BD-motives, while the repertoire of the A-papyrus is atypical and the particular scenes are, with the exception of one final scene, unparalleled (for the details, cf. the publication by Piankoff). Now, the coffin of Herytuben (Cairo J.29738) is mainly decorated with numerous motives derived from the royal Amduat (Fig.86).

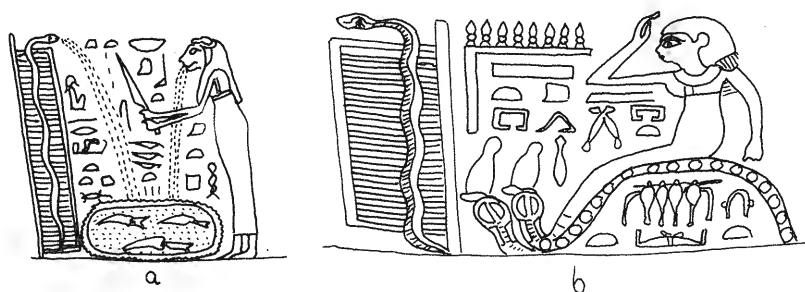


Fig. 86

Again, not one iconographic element from the papyri was doubled here.

The situation changes with later funerary ensembles. The decoration of the coffin of Nesamun <sup>24</sup> (Cairo J.29611) consists of an interesting mixture of the motives of the old "classical repertoire", however strongly transformed (Figs.87 and 88), and those of the royal Amduat (Fig.89). To Nesamun the pap. Cairo 55 of the A.II.1a-type belonged (the BD-papyrus is unknown or unidentified). Similarly, the motives of the royal Amduat are present on the coffins of the early 22nd Dyn. in Leiden, belonging to Ankhefenkhons and Djedmont; both coffins possess the same inv. no AMM 18 (Fig.90) <sup>25</sup>. The papyri belonging to the same owners represent the types A.II.2a and A.II.1a, respectively (pap. Leiden 16 and 17).

<sup>23</sup> Piankoff 1949, passim; Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pp. 71-74 ("pap. no 1") and pp. 75-76 ("pap. no 2").

<sup>24</sup> Nesamun died under the pontificate of Psusennes (mummy-braces).

<sup>25</sup> They are published by Boeser 1918-20, passim.

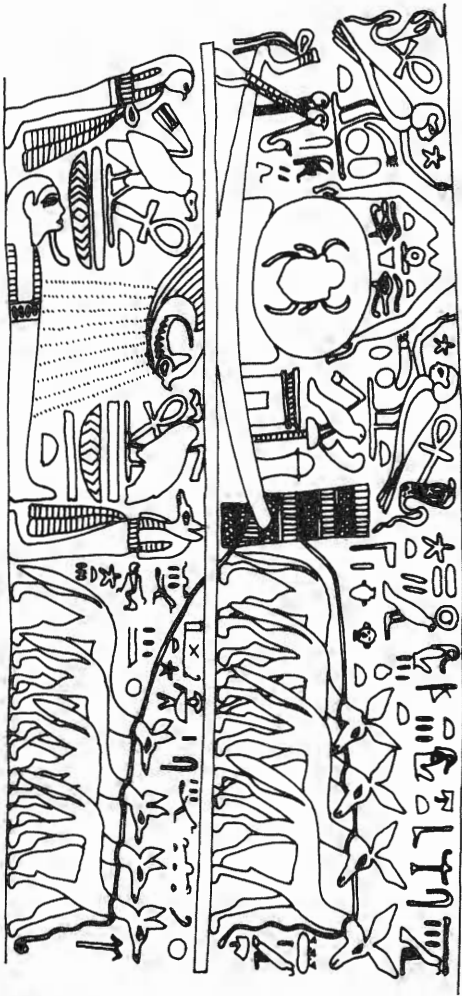


Fig. 87

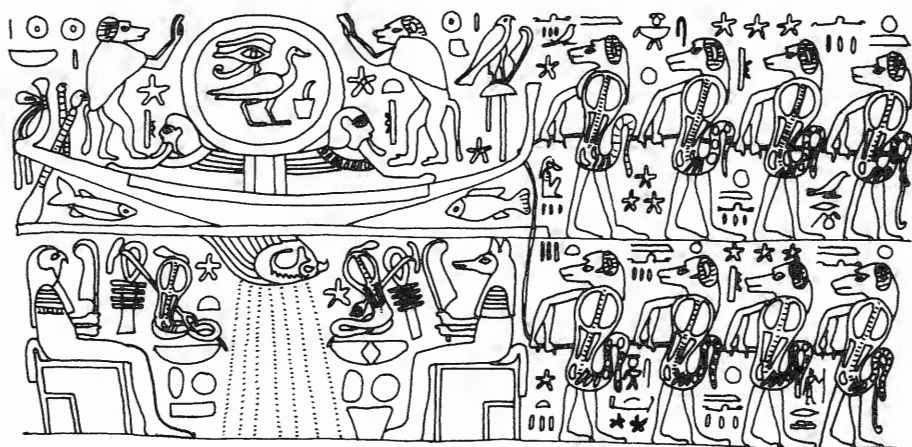


Fig. 88



Fig. 89

The above-described examples of the coffins compared with the papyri present only an outline of the problem; the studies can be continued and developed in the future, since the comparable material is very ample (cf. the ensembles of the coffins and papyri in the EM Cairo, listed on the TABLE III). The preliminary conclusion that can be attempted seems to be following:

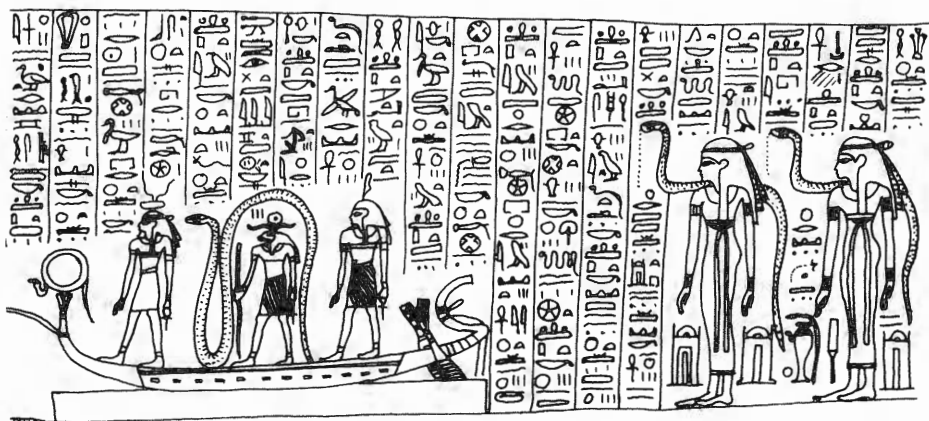


Fig. 90

The iconographic repertoire, which had been originally quite different for both categories of the papyri and for the coffins, gradually underwent a process of unification. The same motives can be seen on the coffins, on the BD-papyri and on the A-papyri in the early pontificate of Pinudjem II. However, in the early and middle 21st Dyn. until the pontificate of Pinudjem II inclusively, a repetition of the iconographic repertoire from the papyri on the walls of the coffins appear to have been avoided in good workshops. The first apparent change in this respect is connected with the coffins of Ta-udjatne (of rather mediocre style), where we find the figures of the forms of the Great God, represented at the same time on her A-papyrus. Some other similar coffins known to us (the coffin of Butehamun in Turin and of Hatshepsut in Grenoble <sup>26</sup>) can not, unfortunately, be compared with the papyri.

The repeated occurrence of some similar motives on papyri and coffins, especially those derived from the royal Amduat, is clearly observable in some funerary ensembles of the late 21st Dyn. and the early 22nd Dyn. It should be, however, stressed that even among these late ensembles two identical iconographic repertoires in a papyrus and on a coffin belonging to the same person can hardly be expected.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Chapter V, note 13 above.

#### 4. Development of the form and function of papyri in the funerary equipment of the 11th-10th centuries B.C.

The concluding outline which follows is illustrated with two graphic schemes. TABLE XVI presents the hypothetical occurrence of the particular types within the period of the 11th-10th centuries B.C. TABLE XVII illustrates interdependent relations between the tomb decoration, coffins and various types of the funerary papyri in the subsequent phases of the whole discussed period, under the influence of the theological conceptions of the New Kingdom and of the Renaissance Era/early 21st Dynasty.

#### A - The New Kingdom

##### § 67.

The manuscripts with some excerpts from the Book of the Dead were, till the end of the Ramesside period, the only papyri in the Theban funerary ensembles. Most of them represented a good quality of execution. The size of the manuscripts was sometimes considerable, the papyri having been composed of several rolls (each one about 30-45 cm high and about 3,20-4,00 m long) stuck together. On such an ample surface, there was place enough to record a considerable number of the BD-"chapters" (for example, in the papyrus of Neferubenef 69 chapters were written, on the pap. Nebseni - 87 chapters, on the pap. Nu - 122 chapters). Many chapters were illustrated, but texts played a leading role till the end of the 18th Dyn. Two stylistic "schools" of execution of the vignettes can be distinguished among the early BD-papyri. One of them used ink only, and the figures, as well as the bordering frames in the papyri of this kind are drawn in black line, without any colour (papyri of Nebseni, London, and of Ra, Leiden). The second "school" utilized various paints, and the vignettes as well as the frames of the papyri are colourful. At least two artists were, probably, engaged in making one papyrus of the latter type. The scribes and drawers employed in workshops where the funerary papyri were produced, possessed probably a number of handy model-papyri, on which series of the BD-spells of similar religious contents were written. It was the

artist's choice, which one of the model-papyri were copied (completely or in fragments only), and in which sequence, unless any requirement from the client's part was specified in this respect. Some of the "chapters" appear to have been more popular than others, and to these belonged the BD 1, 15/16, 17/18, 23, 59/63, 77-88, 99, 100, 110, 136, 125/126 + 308, 141/143, 144-147, 148, 149/150, 186. It is difficult to state, if the popularity of these chapters caused fixed patterns of the vignettes to be worked-out for them, or vice versa, they were most often recorded on papyri because their patterns had been elaborated in the most complete form, i.e. including the illustrations, while the execution of the vignettes to some other chapters and their character depended on the artist's own free will and his creative imagination?

From the late 18th Dynasty (post-Amarna period) on, the increasing tendency towards the replacing of the texts by vignettes may be deduced from the papyri. A reason for this modification, it seems, might have resulted from a simple change of the structure of employment in the Theban workshops. In the Ramesside period obviously more skilful drawers and painters worked in these, than good scribes proficient in orthography. On the other hand, a general attitude towards the form of expression of the religious ideas might have undergone evolution, and figural representations might have been given more confidence as having - in the eyes of the Egyptians of those days - more magical efficiency than texts. By the way, the knowledge of hieroglyphs in ancient Egypt systematically decreased after the official introduction of Late Egyptian in the Amarna period had taken place.

The papyri of the Book of the Dead played, from the point of view of the theologians, essentially the same role as the tomb decoration, more precisely the decoration of its underground part (sarcophagus chamber). Therefore, the roll of the BD-papyrus usually fulfilled a function of a substitute for the wall decoration of the chamber, in which the funerary equipment was deposited. In the tombs of the Ramesside period the BD-motives often appear in the overground rooms, which reflects a breaking with the ancient tradition, according to



which the mysteries and magic included in the texts and vignettes of the funerary compositions should be revealed and accessible exclusively to the deceased. Some magnificently decorated Ramesside tombs make, therefore, the impression that the religious knowledge of their owners was subordinated to a desire for an artistic effect. The same ignorance of the tradition might have caused some occasional occurrence of BD-manuscripts in the funerary ensembles of the owners of the tombs decorated with the BD-motives (cf. the case of Nefersekheru). The old rules were, however, respected in other Ramesside Theban tombs (the group in Deir el-Medina), where the BD-decoration appears on the walls of the underground chambers only, and this repertoire was not doubled on papyri, as the equipment in the tomb of Sennedjem seems to corroborate.

B - The Renaissance Era and the early 21st Dynasty  
§ 68.

The term "Renaissance Era" is usually given inverted commas, being understood as an euphemistic designation of a martial law period resulted from a cumulation of some negative events in the late 20th Dyn. (civil war, famine and its consequences, corruption, tomb robbery, eclipse of the real power and efficiency of the royal rule, etc.). From the point of view of theologians taking into consideration the phenomena of the religious life, however, it seems that the period created in fact good chances for a Renaissance. It is not impossible that the repeated occurrence of the BD-motives in the commonly accessible cult rooms in the tombs of some rich and influential Ramesside officials might have been regarded by the orthodox priests as a misuse. In this situation, the decision, with its far-reaching consequences, of giving up the building of the decorated tombs, might have both resulted from the need for a protection of the mummies, and from a desideratum to stop the misuse of the religious symbols in the tomb-decoration.

In the conditions of the theocratic Theban "State of Amun" theological ideas developed, focusing on the principle of the solar- $\mathcal{O}$ sirian unity of the forms (aspects) of the Great God.

In the sphere of eschatology the accent was laid on the identification of the deceased with the Great God in the eternal cycle of his transformations during traversing of the daily and nightly sky as a multiplicity of forms of Re and of Osiris represented on papyrus. Illustration of these multiplex creations became the contents of new composition called t<sup>3</sup> md)t lmy D)t or Book of What is in the Hereafter. A series of imaginable forms of the Great God, with whom the deceased is identified, recalls the Litany of Re of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, and the title of the new "book" derives from that of the so-called "BD 168", another funerary composition sometimes found on papyri.

The new papyrus (our type A.I.1), which was deposited directly on the mummy was a supplement to the Book of the Dead-papyrus, usually closed in a hollowed wooden Osirian statuette (the papyrus-sheath). At the time of the Renaissance Era probably some old workshops of the funerary equipment were active in Thebes, which had continuously produced the BD-papyri for many years. It is feasible that the manuscripts made in these workshops possessed always the same form, and they are difficult to be dated exclusively after the stylistic criteria. To such papyri belongs the Book of the Dead of Sutesmes (our type BD.II.1). Other workshops, however, produced at the same time BD-papyri, in which a number of vignettes surpassed that of texts. The old tendency was distinctly expressed in the decoration of some Ramesside tombs (the Deir el-Medina-group), but it was fully realized only in the early 21st Dyn. on the papyri. The idea was clear: the BD-papyrus was intended to substitute for the whole tomb decoration of the previous period. This task could be fulfilled only on one condition: a maximum application of the rule pars pro toto. Selected BD-chapters were represented in the manuscripts by short fragments of the texts, and more frequently by vignettes only. To render, in a pictorial form, the combined contents of many chapters, supplemented with some new religious substance reflecting theological conceptions of the period, a number of compound figural compositions were created in the early 21st Dynasty. Their principal bearer were the walls of the coffins. At the beginning only the side-walls of the inner cases were

used for the purpose, while the outer coffin cases were traditionally decorated with the old motives (the Sons of Horus). It didn't take long, however, before both coffins received the new iconographic repertoire (called "classical" in this work). Occasionally, the BD-motives and even the figures of the divine forms were represented on the walls of the coffins, the shape of which was comparable with that of papyrus.

Notwithstanding the mixtures of the iconographic themes, the whole repertoire was, generally, divided among particular elements of the funerary equipment as follows: the A-papyrus contained the figures of the divine forms, the BD-papyrus consisted of the BD-motives, mostly in figural form, the walls of the outer coffin still could conserve the traditional motives of the Sons of Horus represented on the sarcophagi and coffins in the New Kingdom, finally the walls of the inner coffin-case were covered with the scenes of the newly created "classical repertoire".

The whole funerary equipment was deposited in a non-decorated rock cache, or in an old usurped tomb. It is not excluded that already in the early 21st Dynasty the first big "mass-tombs" or common cachettes were made, this, however, must remain conjecture until new light is thrown upon it.

#### C - The middle 21st Dynasty

##### § 69.

From the long period of the pontificate of the HP Menkheperre, corresponding to the reign of the King Psusennes I, only a few papyri originate, with exception of those dating from few last years of the period. This lack of information is however, itself an information. It seems feasible that the deceased priests of those days were buried in some big cachettes, which have not yet been discovered. The papyri, which can be dated in the pontificate of Menkheperre (papyri Cairo 2, 3, 8, 16, 21 and 119) belonged to three different funerary equipments, and - in theory - one papyrus of each pair represented the BD-category, while the second one - the A-category. However, the contents of both papyri belonging to the same ensemble is analogous in these three pairs. The papyri Cairo 8

and 16, and similarly the papyri Cairo 21 and 119 contain the same groups of the motives: the introduction of the deceased among the strange and grim looking deities of the Underworld. The papyri Cairo 2 and 3 also contain, besides the motif of the Judgement of the Dead, some atypical figures of the demonic creatures (cf. Figs. 71-73). All three pairs of the papyri probably originate from secondary workshops, in which differences between the two categories of the papyri were, practically, not respected. The observations made on the decoration of the coffins of the same period lead to the same conclusion: the iconographic repertoire, which in the previous period had been, as a rule, differentiated, in the middle 21st Dynasty became uniform, and the same figural motives can be found on the coffins and the papyri of that period. The traditions of the previous decades might, however, have been still respected in some good workshops, which produced high quality funerary equipments with differentiated iconographic repertoire both in the early 21st Dynasty and under the early pontificate of HP Pinudjem II.

Towards the end of the long pontificate of Menkheperre, the iconographic repertoire was enriched with a large group of motives of quite different character. The position of the pontiff after over four decades of holding the office in Thebes, became exceptional. On some occasions, Menkheperre's name was written in a cartouche, and "regnal years": 48 and 49 "of Menkheperre" appeared in some documents. The royal claims of the old High Priest reached also the eschatology, and he decided to use for himself - maybe with the official approval on the part of the young King Amenemope - a nephew of Menkheperre - the royal Script from the Hidden Chamber of the Underworld, which has by the modern scholars been named Amduat. A pattern for the earliest Amduat-papyrus was probably copied from the eastern wall of the Sarcophagus Chamber in the tomb of Amenhotep II, where the divisions 9th - 12th of the illustrated version and the complete abbreviated version of the Amduat appear together, exactly like in the most complete papyri of our A.II.1a-type<sup>27</sup>. It seems that in the workshop, where the

<sup>27</sup> Orthography of the texts accompanying the figures on some

papyrus for Menkheperre (and, maybe, for his next-of-kin, too) was prepared, these motives were copied and used in other papyri of less orthodox form (our type A.II.1b). Some of these were used as elements of the funerary equipments still during Menkheperre's lifetime. It is difficult to say, to what extent, if at all, the fact that the motives of the royal Amduat became widespread among the Theban priests, was regarded as illegal one, from the point of view of the Tanite King? It is possible that the privilege of copying from the old royal funerary compositions was granted by him all the citizens of the Theban "State of Amun", since on the papyri and coffins of the period of Amenemope/Pinudjem II several motives from the royal Books of the Underworld are encountered (cf. pap. Anhai, BM 10472 with the final scene of the Book of the Gates, the pap. of Nodjmet, BM 10490 with the motives of the Book of the Caverns, and numerous papyri with the motives of the Amduat).

The new type of the A-category papyri was used for some years parallelly to the old A.I.1-type (with the forms of the Great God), the latter being later replaced with its version combined with the royal Amduat-motives (our type A.I.2). The traditional "Litany of Re"-papyri were probably produced in a different workshop, where old patterns were used also for the BD-papyri (the types BD.II.1 and BD.III.1a). This might have been the same workshop, where the coffins were made, characteristic in the white ground-colour of the decoration and the use of the old motives (the Sons of Horus) on the walls of the outer cases (the type IV-a of the coffins) <sup>28</sup>. In any case, in the reign of Amenemope and the early pontificate of Pinudjem II a Theban workshop professing principles of archaization was active. In other workshops, on the contrary, novelties were offered. To these, besides the royal

papyri shows a relationship with the textual version in the tomb of Amenhotep III rather than that in the tomb of Amenhotep II (cf. Sadek 1985, pp.337-340). The following hypothetical explanation of this controversy can be preliminarily offered here: While the arrangement of the Amduat-motives and the iconographic part of the work was done in the tomb of Amenhotep II, the texts might have been copied afterwards, in the more comfortable conditions of the workshop, from an old textual model-papyrus of the Amduat.

<sup>28</sup> Niwiński 1988, § 74.

Amduat-papyri, belonged hieratic BD-manuscripts (the type BD. II.2). Finally, the occurrence of poor quality papyri of the type BD.III.1b should be mentioned, which is indicative of the divergency of the types of the funerary manuscripts in that period, and of the fact that people of different status were entitled to possess religious papyri, even with ex-royal funerary motives.

D - The late 21st Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period  
§ 70.

The diversity of the types of the papyri observable already towards the end of the middle 21st Dynasty, or in the first decades of the 10th century B.C., was characteristic most of all for the period of the late 21st Dynasty. Almost all possible combinations of the motives occurred in the papyri and the coffins in the late pontificate of Pinudjem II and later, under the formal pontificate of Psusennes (Djedkhonsiufankh, Psusennes's brother probably acted as his deputy, and, practically, the High Priest without the title<sup>29</sup>). The division of the funerary papyri into two categories was formally always complied with, and the traditional titles: pry m hrw and mg)t lmy D)t were still recorded on the papyri, but the titles are often the only indication for us, to which category a papyrus should be ascribed, when in respect to the contents both the BD and the A-group can be considered. It seems that the Egyptians themselves had some problems with that embarace de richesse, and they were sometimes inconsequent in giving the papyri titles (cf. the pap. Richmond). Thus, in that period the papyri representing the A-category could consist of the royal Amduat-motives recorded in various ways, with or without compliance with the original patterns (the types A.II.1 and 2). They could, however, consist of the BD-motives exclusively (the type A.III.1a), or with addition of other motives, among others derived from the "classical iconographic repertoire" (the type A.III.1b). Other papyri of the A-category were combination of the old figures of the di-

<sup>29</sup> id., 1985, pp.83-86.

vine forms of Re/Osiris, with some motives from Amduat (type A.I.2), or they joined scenes of various origin with the motives from the Books of the Underworld other than Amduat (type A.III.2). Similarly, the papyri of the BD-category represented different "schools", the textual or figural versions, the latter being often influenced by the repertoire of some A-papyri and of the coffins. The diversity of the contents of the papyri was paralleled in those days by variety in the quality and size of the manuscripts, which reflected the social inequalities in Thebes. From the period of the late 21st and the early 22nd Dyn. the smallest funerary papyri originate, both illustrated and non-illustrated. The latter constitute a distinct category of "magical" papyri related to the Book of the Dead. These manuscripts are written in hieratic, and this script became prevalent among the BD-papyri of the period.

Although the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty saw several types of the papyri, before long only two kinds of the funerary manuscripts remained in the use, each representing one of two traditional categories: the BD.I.2 (hieratic Book of the Dead without illustrations) and the A.II.1/2 (the royal Amduat-papyri). Two manuscripts representative of these types have been found by Denon on the mummy of a grandson of the King Osorkon I. Thus there is proof that both categories of the papyri survived until the 9th century B.C. The papyrus Leningrad 5 is the latest known example of the Amduat-category. This kind of the funerary papyri probably disappeared in the period between the 22nd and the 25th Dynasty. On the contrary, the papyri containing some excerpts from the Book of the Dead in the hieratic version must have survived in some form until the introduction of the "Saite redaction"-papyri<sup>30</sup>. These

<sup>30</sup> In the book of Denon 1802, pl.136 one "...manuscript trouvée dans l'enveloppe d'une momie" is published, which recalls the papyri of the BD.I.2-type. The legends on the etiquette are written on light and dark ground, alternatively, which can be compared with the features of the decoration of the 25th Dynasty tombs and coffins. The papyrus in question belonged to a certain



A priest of the same name is mentioned on a coffin of the 25th Dynasty; cf. Vittmann 1978, p.112.

were probably created already in the 25th Dynasty, maybe under Taharka; the coffins datable to the same period and the first decorated Theban tombs of the Late Period are related to the new redaction of the corpus. The funerary material of the Third Intermediate Period, and especially the papyri, require a separate typological study, as well as the large category of the BD-manuscripts of the "Saite redaction". Only then we can attempt understanding of the whole development of the eschatological beliefs and the changing role of the funerary papyri throughout the Egyptian history.



## PART TWO

### THE LIST OF THE SOURCES



### Introductory note

The list of the sources that directly follows the present note comprises all of the illustrated funerary papyri (and some examples of the non-illustrated manuscripts) of the 11th - 10th centuries B.C. known to the author from direct studies in various museums, from publications and private communications, all the information obtained before December 31st 1987.

There are probably other papyri of the types belonging to the studied period dispersed among various museums and especially private collections, about which the author has not been able to gain any information. Insufficient data has been gathered about the papyri in the Trinity College Library, Dublin, and in the Vatican Library; the descriptions of the papyri from there, given in the old catalogues by Hincks and Marucchi made it impossible to identify the type of most of the papyri mentioned by them. A group of the papyri referred to under the designation "loc.(ation) unkn.(own)" comprises the manuscripts known from the older literature, which have disappeared from the field of vision of Egyptologists.

The list of the sources comprises for each papyrus some general information about the following matters:

- location (town, name of the collection, inventory number);
- provenance (origin, mode and date of the acquisition by the museum);
- owner (name, title and sometimes the parentage of the possessor of the papyrus);
- type (affiliation to a type according to the typology proposed in the Chapters IV and V of this work);
- formal features (size, the degree of the completeness of the manuscript, colours used);
- dating (auxiliary information from the funerary ensemble, like the inscriptions on the mummy-braces and mummy-bandages (most references are given to the publication by Daressy 1907) and coffins (according to the typology of the coffins, Niwiński 1988); when such an information is lacking, a general attribution to a period is attempted);

- bibliography (as a rule, only publications, in which the papyrus is described, illustrated, or discussed are considered).

If some information is lacking (for example concerning the size of the papyrus), blank spaces are left in respective places. The contents of particular papyri will not be specified in the list of the sources, because it has been decided to avoid long descriptions of the complicated iconographic scenes, which occur on many papyri; the affiliation to a type is, instead, indicative to the general character of each papyrus.

AVIGNON

Musée Calvet, A.68 a-b

Provenance: brought from Egypt by a Mr. Cazati /according to his information, papyrus had been found "in the subterranean parts of the Karnak temple in 1820"/; in 1823 bought by Mr. Lunel.

owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22,4 - 23,5 cm, l. 1,93 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a


Bibliography: unpublished

BERLIN 1

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3001

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

owner: 



Type: A.II.3

Formal features: size: h. 34 cm, l. 7,56 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.; coffin of type V

Bibliography: Jéquier 1894, pp. 29-31; Erman 1894, p.358;

id., 1899, p.432; Hornung 1967, pls. 5-10;

Seeber 1976, p.211; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.15.

## BERLIN 2

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3004

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 0,27 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.16.

## BERLIN 3

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3005 a-d

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner:



Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 39 cm, l. 2,36 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-b, III-c

Bibliography: Borchardt 1889, p.119; Schott 1938, p.21;

Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.17

## BERLIN 4

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3006 a-b

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823



Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 41 cm, l. 1,43 m

colours: green, yellow, red, black

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1889, p. 119; Naville 1886, p.73 (Bd),  
pls.188-189; Piankoff 1974;

Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.17

## BERLIN 5

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3007 a-f

Provenance: collection of Passalacqua, purchased in 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 2,16 m

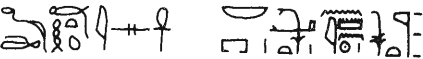
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, pp.17-18

## BERLIN 6

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3009

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,45 m

colours: black outline

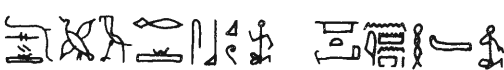
Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, pp.18-19

## BERLIN 7

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3010

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size h. 22 cm, l. 0,30 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.19

BERLIN 8

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3011

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 12 cm, l. 0,39 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

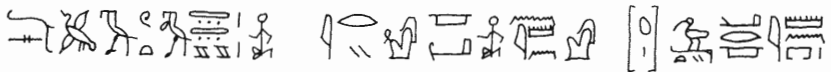
Bibliography: Borchardt 1889, p.120; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.19

BERLIN 9

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3012

Provenance: collection of Anastasi, purchased in 1857

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 0,82 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1889, p.120; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.19

BERLIN 10

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3013 a-b



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,29 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1889, pp.119-120; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.20





## BERLIN 14

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3123

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 0,75 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.35

## BERLIN 15

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3124

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 16 cm, l. 1,07 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, pp.35-36

## BERLIN 16

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3125

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,23 m


Dating: late 21st Dyn./early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.36

## BERLIN 17

Ägyptisches Museum, p.3126

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,24 m

colours: blue, red, green, white, yellow,  
black

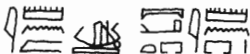
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.36

## BERLIN 18

Ägyptisches Museum, p.3127

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,72 m

colours: red, brown, green, black, white

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Sethe 1928, p.12; Nagel 1929, p.104; Schäfer  
1935, p.18; Morenz 1964, passim; Köhler 1972,  
passim, pl.3; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, pp.36-37

## BERLIN 19

Ägyptisches Museum, p.3128

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,35

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Erman 1894, p.358; id.1899, p.432; Köhler 1972,  
pl. 4(6); Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.37

## BERLIN 20

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3129

Provenance: collection of Passalacqua, acquired in 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,19 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.37

## BERLIN 21

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3130

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,95 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Erman 1894, pp.357-358; id. 1899, pp.431-432;  
Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.38

## BERLIN 22

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3143

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner:



Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,06 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

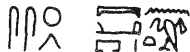
Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.40

## BERLIN 23

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3147

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner:



Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,20 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Erman 1894, pp.358-359; id 1899, p.432; Sethe  
1928, p.14; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.40

## BERLIN 24

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3148

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823

Owner: anonymous woman

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 19 cm /fragm./, l. 1,40 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Schott 1938, passim; id.1965, pp.186-187; Seeber 1976, p.211; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.40

## BERLIN 25

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3152

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, acquired in 1823

Owner: anonymous 

Type: A.III.2a 

Formal features: size: h. l.

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.42

## BERLIN 26

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3153

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, acquired in 1823

Owner: 

Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm, l. 1,57 m  
colours: blue, black, red/brown


Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p. 42

## BERLIN 27

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3157

Provenance: collection of Minutoli, acquired in 1823

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: h. 25 cm

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Naville 1886, pp.71-73(Bb); Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 43

## BERLIN 28

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3165

Provenance: acquired in Thebes about 1878

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,40 m /fragm./

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.45

## BERLIN 29

Ägyptisches Museum, P.10466

Provenance: received from the State Library

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,93 m

colours: white, red, green, black

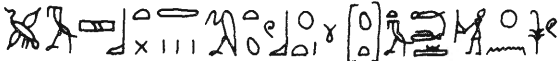
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p.50

## BERLIN A

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3031

Provenance: collection of Passalacqua, purchased in Thebes  
before 1828

Owner: 

Type: U

Formal features: size: h. 11 cm, l. 2,86 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Hieratische Papyrus...Berlin vol.2, 1905, p.2,  
pls. 48-51; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, pp.23-24

## BERLIN B

Ägyptisches Museum, P.3051

Owner: anonymous

Type: U

Formal features: size: h. ; written on recto and verso

Dating: middle 21st Dyn., probably reign of Amenemope

Bibliography: Dembska /forthcoming/; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p. 29

## BOLOGNA 1

Museo Civico, 3163

Provenance: collection of Palagi, purchased in 1832

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 16 cm, l. 0,65 m

Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kminek-Szedlo 1895, p.354

## BOLOGNA 2

Museo Civico, 3164

Provenance: collection of Palagi, purchased in 1832

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 10 cm, l. 0,75 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kminek-Szedlo 1895, p. 354

## BOLOGNA 3

Museo Civico, 3169

Provenance: collection Palagi, purchased in 1832

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 0,36 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Kminek-Szedlo 1895, p.355

## BUDAPEST

Szépművészeti Múzeum, 51.2547

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h.

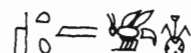
Dating: late 21st/early 22nd Dyn.

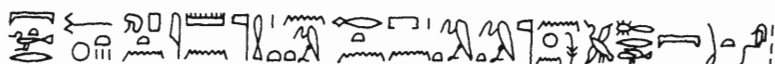
Bibliography: Varga 1964, pp. 20-21, pl. 12; id. 1976, p.32

## CAIRO 1

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.525 = J.26228 bis

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner: 



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 0,56 m  
colours: black, red, green, grey

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Pinudjem II; coffin of type III-b, III-c; died after Year 10 of Siamun, probably in the reign of Psusennes II

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 2

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.526 = J.51948 a-c

Provenance: Winlock's excavations in Deir el-Bahari 1924,  
Tomb MMA 60; found in the papyrus-sheath, Cairo  
J.49164, together with the papyrus Cairo 3

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 21 cm, l. 1,33 m  
colours: blue, red, black, yellow


Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Pinudjem I; coffin of type II-d; died probably in the reign of Psusennes I

Bibliography: Winlock 1926, p.28; Seeber 1976, p.210

## CAIRO 3

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.527 = J.51949 a-c

Provenance: Winlock's excavations in Deir el-Bahari 1924,  
Tomb MMA 60; found together with pap. Cairo 2

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 21cm, l. 1,29 m  
colours: blue, red, black, yellow

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Pinudjem I; coffin of type II-d; died probably in the reign of Psusennes I

Bibliography: Winlock 1926, p.28





## CAIRO 7

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.541 = J.95644

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.106)

Owner: anonymous (the name: Khonsemheb is known from the coffin)

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 40,0 cm, l. 1,49 m

colours: black and red


Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-d

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.30; Sadek 1985, pp.213-217,  
pl. 43 ("C.30")

## CAIRO 8

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.542 = J.95645

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.109)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,46 m

colours: white, black, red, green, yellow

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre;  
coffin of type II-b

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.31.

## CAIRO 9

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.543 = J.95646

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.39)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,42 m

colours: green, yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of HP Psusennes with date:  
Year 12; coffin of type III-c

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.25

## CAIRO 10

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.544 = J.36465

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.42)

Owner:  

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,55 m  
colours: white, black, red, green, blue,  
yellow/brown

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Daressy and Smith 1903, p.154; Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.82-83 ("pap. no 5")

## CAIRO 11

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.545 = J.95647

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 1,47 m  
colours: red and black


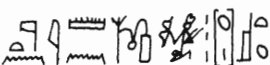
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 12

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.546 = J.95648

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.39)

Owner:  

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,37 m  
colours: red and black

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of HP Psusennes with date:  
"Year 12"; coffin of type III-c

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.189 ff ("pap.26")

## CAIRO 13

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.548 = J.95650 = 14.7.35.8

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble A.132)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1.1,33 m

colours: black and red


Dating: late 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Pinudjem II; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; coffins of types III-a, III-b, IV-b

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.35; Sadek 1985, pp.125-129, pl.18 ("C.10")

## CAIRO 14

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.549 = J.95651

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble A.127)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.2

Formal features: size: h.25 cm, l. 5,35 m

colours: white, yellow, green, black

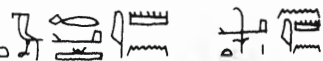
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 15

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.552 = J.95654

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble A.127)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 0,94 m

colours: white, black, blue, red, green

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II


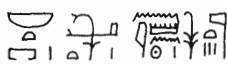
Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.34; Sadek 1985, pp.120-124, pl.17 ("C.9")

## CAIRO 16

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.553 = J.95655

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.109)

Owner:  

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,55 m

colours: white, red, green, black, yellow

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre;

coffin of type II-b

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 17

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.554 = J.95656

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.108)

Owner: anonymous (probably Ankhefenkhons)

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 1,47 m

colours: red and black

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type IV-b

Bibliography: Sadek 1895, pp.104-105, pl.11 ("C.5"); Saleh and

Sourouzian 1986, No 236

## CAIRO 18

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.555 = J.95657

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.126)

Owner:  

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,36 m

colours: red, yellow, green, pink, blue

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Chassinat 1903, pl.IV; Daressy 1907, p.33;

Köhler 1972, pl.3 (4)



## CAIRO 22

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.565 = J.95664

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,32 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 23

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.631 = J.95701

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 11,5 cm, l. 4,11 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.220-226, pls.45-47 ("C.32")

## CAIRO 24

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.638 = J.95706

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 26 cm, l. 0,49 m


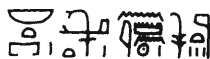
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 25

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.645 = J.95712

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h.                      l.

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Köhler 1972, pl. 4 (5); Photo Schott, "pap.99"

## CAIRO 26

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.646 = J.95713

Provenance: unknown

Owner:

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 27

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.650 = J.95716

Provenance: unknown

Owner:

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 26 cm, l. 0,65 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 28

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.652 = J.95718

Provenance: unknown

Owner:

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 27 cm, l. 0,99 m

colours: black only

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.192-193 ("pap.27")



## CAIRO 29

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.655 = J.95721

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 2,75m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.88-94, pls.4-7 ("C.2")

## CAIRO 30

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.932 = J.95835

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.107)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,38 m


Dating: late 21st Dyn.

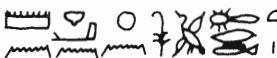
Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 31

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.933 = J.95836

Provenance: from the Bab el-Gusus-tomb, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.71)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24,5 cm, l. 1,46 m

colours: black, red, white, yellow, green,  
blue, pink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Menkheperre; coffin of  
type IV-c

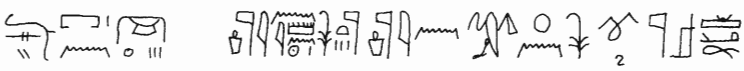
Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.28; Sadek 1985, pp.145-150, pls  
26-27 ("C.16")



## CAIRO 34

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.953 = J.95854

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
 (Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.142)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm l.

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffins of types III-a, III-b

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 35

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.954 = J.95855

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
 (Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.61)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; coffin  
 of types IIIa and III-b

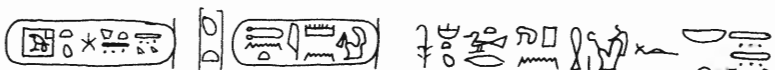

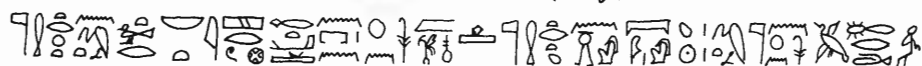
Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 36

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.955 = J.95856

Type: BD.II.1

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, discovered  
 by the Arabs about 1872

Owner:   
  


Formal features: size: h. 45,5 cm, l. 3,67 m

colours: yellow, red, black

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Pinudjem I; coffin: II-a

Bibliography: Mariette 1871-1876, pls. 12-18 ("pap. no 22")

## CAIRO 37

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.957 = J.95858

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm

Dating: late 21st Dyn.


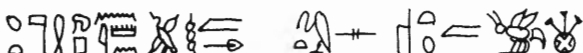
Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 38

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.959

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.132)

Owner: Type: BD.I.2 

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Pinudjem II; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; coffins: III-a, III-b, IV-b

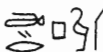
Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 39

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.960 = J.95860

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.123)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin: III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.32

## CAIRO 40

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.961 = J.95861

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.17)

Owner:  

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm

colours: black only

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces and mummy-linen of HP  
Psusennes; coffins: III-b, IV-c

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 41

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.967 = J.95866

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.147)

Owner:    


Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 33 cm

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; grandson of HP Menkheperre; coffin of  
III-a-type

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 42

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.979 = J.95878

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.115)

Owner:     


Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm, l. 1,64 m

colours: black only


Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre;  
coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Piankoff 1964a, pp.66-71, 133-137; Photo Schott  
("pap. hh")

CAIRO 43

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.980 = J.26229

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari

Owner: 

## CAIRO 45

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.982 = J.95880

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.94)Owner:  

Type: BD.III.1a

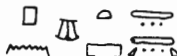
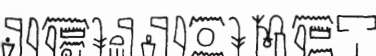
Formal features: size: h. 24 cm

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. ff"); Seeber 1976, p.212.

## CAIRO 46

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.984 = J.95881

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.11)Owner:  

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 36 cm

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces HP Menkheperre (name  
in cartouche); coffins: II-a, IV-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.5; Seeber 1976, p.212

## CAIRO 47

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.992 = J.95887

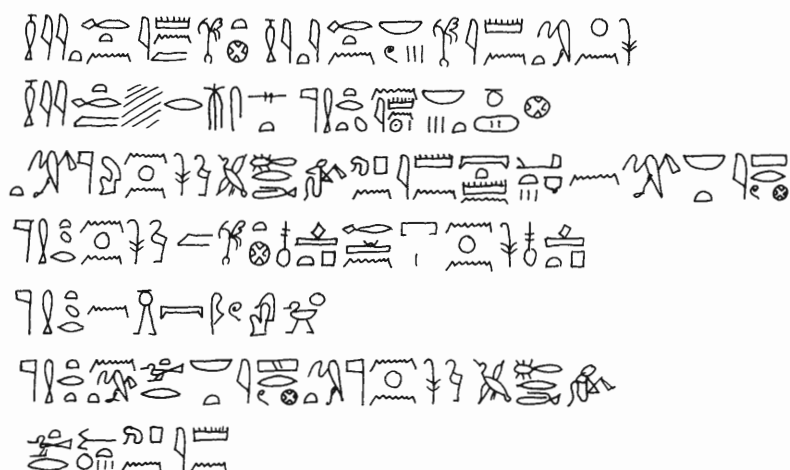
Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari

Owner:









Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h. 33,5 cm, l. 1,43 m

colours: yellow, red, black

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Pinudjem I (and daughter of Ramesses XI); coffin of the type II-a

Bibliography: Mariette 1871-1876 vol.3, pls 19-21 ("pap. 23")

CAIRO 48

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.994 = J.95889

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.43)

Owner:  

Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,35 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; coffin of type III-a


Bibliography: unpublished



## CAIRO 49

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.999

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 1.

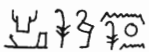
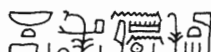
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 50

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1000 = J.95892

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus

Owner:  

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 51

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1001

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.139)

Owner:  

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: colours: black only

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; coffin  
of type III-a, III-c

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 52

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1003

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.33)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,76 m

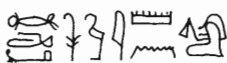
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

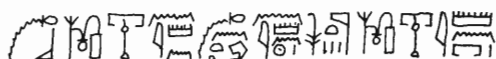
Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.24; Sadek 1985, pp.169-172,  
pl. 32 ("C.21")

CAIRO 53

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1530

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.30)

Owner: 



Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h, l.


Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem (II);  
coffin of type II-b

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.23

CAIRO 54

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1531

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.64)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: colours: black and red


Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre (the  
name in cartouche); coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.27

CAIRO 55

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1535

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.148)

Owner: 



Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; coffin  
of type IIIa

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.37

CAIRO 56

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.1544

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.32)

Owner: anonymous (found on the mummy of



Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 1.

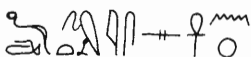
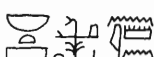
Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of HP Menkheperre; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; the coffin of type II-c  
and III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.24; Smith and Daressy 1906,  
p.157, pl.IX

CAIRO 57

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10220

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 13 cm, l. 0,92 m  
colours: black only

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. z"); Sadek 1985, pp.183-185,  
pl.36 ("C.25")

CAIRO 58

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10221

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble A.139)

Owner:  









Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,34 m

colours: black outline only

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II and Amenemope; coffin of types III-a, II-d

Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. r"); Seeber 1976, p.212

CAIRO 70

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10233 = J.34049

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,18 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.180-182, pls.34-35 ("C.24")

CAIRO 71

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10234 = J.35404

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.91)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 3,11 m

colours: white, black, red, green, yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.153; Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.88-92 ("pap. 7")

CAIRO 72

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10235 = J.34000

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,65 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.194-200 ("pap.28")



## CAIRO 73

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10236

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
 (Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.49)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 2,13 m  
 colours: black and red

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem (II);  
 coffin of type II-c

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.26; Sadek 1985, pp.186-192,  
 pls 37-38 ("C.26")

## CAIRO 74

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10237

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
 (Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.55)

Owner: anonymous (coffin of Pinudjem)

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,10 m  
 colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of the type V

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.218-219, pls 43-44 ("C.31")

## CAIRO 75

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10238

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
 (Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.26)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 12 cm, l. 2,25 m  
 colours: red, blue, yellow, green, white

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of HP Pinudjem II

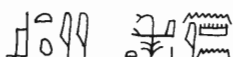
Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.23; Piankoff and Rambova 1957,  
 pp.77-79 ("pap. no 3"); Hornung 1979b fig. 29

## CAIRO 76

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10239

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.66)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,23 m

colours: green, yellow, black, red

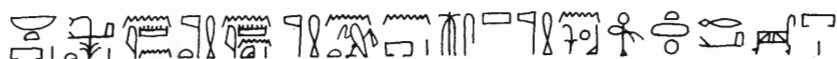

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of King Psusennes II;  
coffin of type III-bBibliography: Daressy 1907, p.28; Sadek 1985, pp.99-103,  
pls 9-10 ("C.4")

## CAIRO 77

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10240

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.137)

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 28 cm, l. 2,75 m

colours: black outline only

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.; coffin of types II-d, III-a

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.150-155 ("pap.18")

## CAIRO 78

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10241

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 18 cm, l. 1,18 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

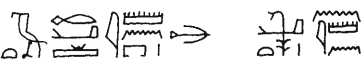
Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.209-212, pl.42 ("C.29")

CAIRO 79

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10242

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus; Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.84)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 18 cm, l. 1,05 m

colours: white, red, yellow, blue

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type IIIa


Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.29; Sadek 1985, pp.143-144,  
pl.25 ("C.15")

CAIRO 80

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10243 = J.36464

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.20)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 17 cm, l. 1,26 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Daressy and Smith 1903, p.156; Sadek 1985, pp.  
155-158, pls 29-30 ("C.18")


CAIRO 81

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10244 = J.33997

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.151)

Owner: 

[his wife] 



Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 35 cm, l. 5,70 m

colours: white, yellow/brown, red

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; son of the HP Menkheperre; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.38; Vilimková, Egyptian Art, London 1962; Photo Schott ("pap. o"); Schott 1965, p.191

CAIRO 82

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10245

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus

Owner: anonymous (perhaps belonged to Nesamenemope, Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble A.113)

Type A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,63 m

colours: black and red

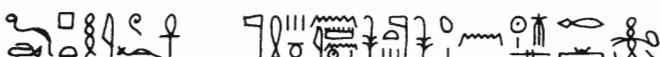
Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of Amenemope and HP Pinudjem II and HP Menkheperre; coffin of type II-c

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.136-137, pl.22 ("C.13")

CAIRO 83

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10246

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,84 m

colours: black and red

Dating: early 22nd Dynasty; mummy-braces HP Iuput; mummy-linen of Sheshonq I and dates: Year 5, Year 10 and 11; coffin of type V

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.106-110, pls 12-13 ("C.6")

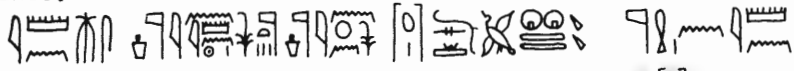
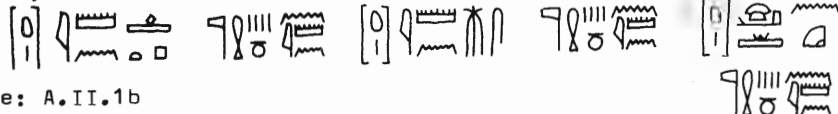


Forman and Kischkewitz 1971, pl.45; Seeber 1976, p.203.

## CAIRO 87

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10250 = J.6262 = "pap. Boulaq 9"

Provenance: excavated in Assassif before 1871

Owner:   


Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23,7 cm, l. 1,70 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Mariette 1871-1876, vol.I, no 9, p.10, pls 40-44  
 Mariette 1876, p.180 (no 432); Sadek 1985, pp. 151-154, pls. 28-29 ("C.17")

## CAIRO 88

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10251

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.91)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,71 m

colours: yellow and brown

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. g"); Daressy 1902, p.153;  
 Daressy 1907, p.29; Encycl. phot. 1949, fig.158.

## CAIRO 89

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10254 = J.31986

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.133)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 1,91m

colours: white, red, black, green, brown

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; mummy-linen of King Siamun; coffin of type V; granddaughter of HP Menkheperre.

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.35; Encycl. phot. 1949, fig.154; Piankoff 1949, pp.129-144, pls.1-12; Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.75-76 ("pap. no 2"); Schott 1965, p.197.

CAIRO 90

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10255

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.38)

Owner:  

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 2,45 m

colours: white, black, green, red

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; mummy-linen of Amenemope and Pinudjem II; coffin of type II-d and III-a


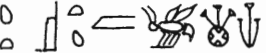
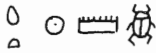
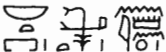
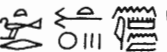
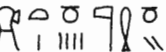

Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. ee"); Bruyère 1939, p.169 fig. 65; Saleh 1984, p.85 fig.109.

CAIRO 91

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10256 = 14.7.35.6

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.133)

Owner:     
   

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 1,98 m

colours: black, red, white, green, brown

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; granddaughter of HP Menkheperre; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; mummy-linen of King Siamun; coffin of type V

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.71-74 ("pap. no 1"); Piankoff 1949, pp.129-144, pls 1-12; Schott 1965 p.186





## CAIRO 95

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10266 = 14.7.35.4

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.141)

Owner:



Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 16,5 cm, l. 7,14 m

colours: black, red, green, blue, white

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.36; Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.171-176 ("pap. no 22")

## CAIRO 96

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10267

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus

Owner:



Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 3,54 m

colours: white, black, green, yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Bruyère 1939, p.189, fig.83; Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.156-162 ("pap. no 19"); Seeber 1976, p.212.

## CAIRO 97

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10268 = 14.7.35.5

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number unidentified)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 36 cm, l. 6,15 m

colours: red and black ink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.(or middle 21st Dyn)

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.78-87, pl.1-4 ("C.1")

## CAIRO 98

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10269

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.113)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,65 m

colours: white, black, yellow, red, green

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of Amenemope, HP Pinu-

djem II and HP Menkheperre; coffin of type II-c

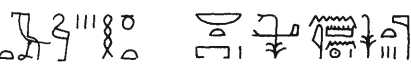
Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 99

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10270

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.20)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 15,5 cm, l. 1,25 m

colours: red and black ink


Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 100

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10271

Provenance: "from Gurna"

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,59 m

colours: black only

Dating: probably 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Mariette 1876, No 389





Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 21 cm, l. 3,90 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-b

Bibliography: unpublished

CAIRO 107

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10654 = 23.4.40.2

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.114)

Owner:      
     
     
     
    

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 3,95 m

colours: black and red

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II;

coffin of type II-a and IV-a

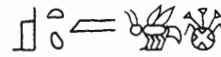
Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.109-116 ("pap. no 10"); Hornung 1979b, fig.24

CAIRO 108

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.10655 = 23.4.40.3

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus (Daressy's

number of the coffin-ensemble: A.62?)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,75 m

colours: green, red, yellow, black

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: unpublished

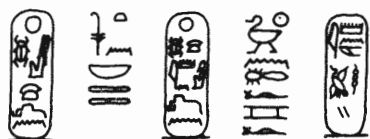


## CAIRO 111

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11488

Provenance: from the royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner:



Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 37 cm, l. 4,44 m

colours: red, white, blue, green, yellow

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; HP Pinudjem I himself; coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Seeber 1976, p.210; Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, No 235; Maspero 1912, No 4761

## CAIRO 112

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11490 = 14.7.35.1

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.58)

Owner:



Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 37 cm, l. 3,33 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Psusennes; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.26; Maspero 1912, No 4762

## CAIRO 113

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11491

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 45 cm, l. 4,35 m

colours: black and red

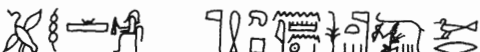
Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CAIRO 114

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11492

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 32 cm, l. 4,80 m

colours: white, blue, green, black (etiquette)

black and red (remaining parts)

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; HP Pinudjem II himself; he died and  
was buried in Year 10 of Siamun; coffins of types:

II-c, IV-b, III-a

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.227-228, pl.48 ("C.33")

## CAIRO 115

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11493

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.9)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm, l. 4,29 m

colours: black, red, blue, green

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a


Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.93-103 ("pap.no 8")  
Seeber 1976, p.212

## CAIRO 116

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11494

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.134)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 5,23 m



Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 5,23 m

colours: white, blue, green, red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffins of type III-a, III-c

Bibliography: unpublished

CAIRO 117

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11495

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.124)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 3,88 m

colours: black and yellow/brown

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of King Siamun with dates:

"Year 8" and "Year 10"; coffin of type III-c

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.33; Photo Schott ("pap. kk ")

CAIRO 118

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11496

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.144)

Owner: 





Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 32 cm, l. 4,32 m

colours: black, red, green, blue, yellow,  
white

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.133-142 ("pap. no 15"); Schott 1965, p.191; Seeber 1976, p.212

## CAIRO 119

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11497

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.96)

owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 1,40 m

colours: white, red, black, blue, green

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre;  
coffin of type II-c

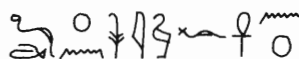
Bibliography: Daressy 1907, p.30

## CAIRO 120

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11498 = 14.7.35.2

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.141)

owner:   
  


Type: A.II.3

Formal features: size: h. 28 cm, l. 6,15 m

colours: white, pink, blue, yellow, brown,  
green, red, black

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Sadek 1985, pp.196-208, pls 39-41 ("C.28")

## CAIRO 121

Egyptian Museum, S.R.VII.11499

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.134)

owner:   








## CAIRO A

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.991 = J.26228 = CG.58032

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner:  children:   
 [her husband] 

Type: U (deification decree of Amun)

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 2,66 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Pinudjem II; she was buried in Year 5 of King Siamun


Bibliography: Maspero 1889a, pp.594-614, pls XXV-XXVII; Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, vol. II, London 1903, pp.13-16; Golenischeff 1927, pp.169-196; Gunn and Edwards 1955, passim; Spiegelberg in ZAS 57 (1922), pp.149-151; Niwiński, (forthcoming 3).

## CAIRO B

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.997 = J.35413 = CG 58005

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.91)

Owner: (Tadimut) 

Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 0,17 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.16-18, pl.III

## CAIRO C

Egyptian Museum, J.95684 = CG 58033

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, 1881

Owner: 

Type: U (deification decree for Pinudjem II)

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 2,98 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; HP Pinudjem II himself; he was buried in Year 10 of King Siamun.

Bibliography: Daressy in RT 32, pp.175-184; Golenischeff 1927, pp.196-209, pls XXX-XXXIV

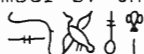
## CAIRO D

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.941 = J.95843 = CG 58003

Provenance: from the Bab el-Gusus tomb in Deir el-Bahari, 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.98)

Owner: (Nespaneferher)



Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,15 m

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of the HP Pinudjem II;

mummy-linen of the HP Menkheperre

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.9-12, pl.II

## CAIRO E

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.942 = J.95844 = CG 58004

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.65)

Owner: (Piamun)



Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 9 cm, l. 0,12 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of HP Psusennes

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.12-15, pl.III

## CAIRO F

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.943 = J.95845 = CG 58006

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.59)

Owner:



Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 15 cm, l. 0,21 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.19-23, pl.IV

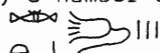
## CAIRO G

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.944 = J.95846 = CG 58002

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.139)

Owner: (Gatseshen)



Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 12 cm, l. 0,25 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II; coffin of type III-a and III-c

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.5-9, pl.II

CAIRO H

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.946 = J.95848 = CG 58025

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus in Deir el-Bahari, 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.81)

Owner: 

Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 11 cm, l. 0,22 m

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-linen of Amenemope and HP Pinudjem II; coffin of type IV-a, III-a/IV-b


Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.102-103, pl.XXIII

CAIRO I

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.989 = J.95885 = CG 58001

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.127)

Owner: 

Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 0,25 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of Pinudjem II


Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.1-5, pl.I

CAIRO J

Egyptian Museum, S.R.IV.990 = J.95886 = CG 58026

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.127)

Owner: 

Type: U (magical papyrus)

Formal features: size: h. 45 cm, l. 0,48 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1927, pp.103-113





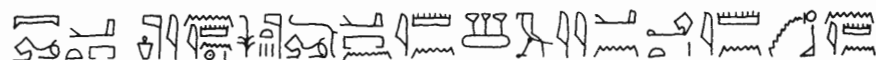


## CLEVELAND 2

The Museum of Art, 21.1032

Provenance: unknown; purchased 1921 (The Charles W. Harkness  
Endowment)

Owner: 



Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,80 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Heerma van Voss 1982a, pp.7-8, pls 1-3

## CLEVELAND A

The Museum of Art, 14882

Provenance: unknown (John Huntington Trust)

Owner: anonymous

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 20,5 cm, l. 0,72 m (fragment)

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## CORTONA

Museo dell'Accademia, 394

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm, l. 0,635 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Botti 1955, pl. III (No 394)



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 12,70 cm, l. 3,94 m

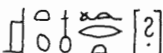
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Hincks 1843, pp.20-21, Cat. No 16

### DUBLIN 3

Trinity College Library, MS 1674

Provenance: presented in the XIXth century by Viscount Kingsborough

Owner: ("Esenofre") 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 15,24 cm, l. 1,78 m


Dating: late 21st Dyn. (?)

Bibliography: Hincks 1843, p.21, Cat. No 17

### DURHAM

Oriental Museum, 1952-7

Provenance: presented by Sir Alan Gardiner in 1952

Owner: (Padif) 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 14 cm only fragment is preserved


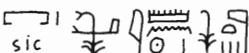
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

### EDINBURGH

Royal Scottish Museum, 1958.850

Provenance: presented in 1958 by the Countess of Sutherland

Owner:  sic' 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 0,64 m

colours: red, black, yellow, green

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

### FIGEAC


Musée Champollion

cf. PARIS, Musée du Louvre, N.3130 and 3132

## FLORENCE

Museo Archeologico, 3663

Provenance: from the collection Nizzoli

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,25 m

colours: black and red


Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.130-132 ("pap.14")

## GENEVA

Library of Dr. Martin Bodmer (pap. Bodmer C)

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 21 cm, l. 3,73 m

colours: multicoloured

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Bissing 1928, passim; Spiegelberg 1928, passim; Müller, Wessel and v. Beckerath 1961, p.130 (Cat. 213); at present in preparation to print by M. Vallogia (Geneva)

## HAAG

Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 37

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 33 cm, l. 2,66 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: De Buck 1938, passim; Heerma van Voss 1974a, pp. 331-334, fig. 93; id. 1982a, p.13, pl.15; id. 1985-86, pp.73-75



## KAZAN 1

University

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 8,5 cm, l. 0,40 m (fragment)

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Turaieff 1903, p.094 (No 161)

## KAZAN 2

University

Provenance unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1 (?)

Formal features: size: h. 7,8 cm, l. 0,17 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Turaieff 1903, pp.094-5 (No 162)

## LEIDEN 1

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 40

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 33 cm, l. 9,00 m

colours: yellow, red, green, white, black  
(etiquette), and: black and red  
(remaining parts of papyrus)

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffins of type II-a/III-a

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, pp.232-235 (T.3); Heerma van Voss,  
1971, passim; Schneider and Raven 1981, Cat.117







Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.249 (T.26); Heerma van Voss 1982  
a, p.10, pl.8; id., 1986, p.14, pl.4

#### LEIDEN 7

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 48

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,22 m  
colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.249 (T.27)

#### LEIDEN 8

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 35

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,29 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.249 (T.28)

#### LEIDEN 9

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 50

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,00 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p. 249 (T.29)

LEIDEN 10

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 42

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 吳明 呂明

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,79 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p. 250 (T.30)

LEIDEN 11

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L.I.1

Provenance: from the collection of L'Escluse, a merchant in  
Bruges, purchased in Anvers 5.VII.1826

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 4,60 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, pp. 253-255 (T.71); Jéquier 1894, p. 31; Pleyte 1894, *passim*.

## LEIDEN 12

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 32

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 48 cm, l. 4,55 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.255 (T.72); Jéquier 1894, p.32;  
Heerma van Voss 1982a, pp.12-13, pl.14

## LEIDEN 13

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L.I.3

Provenance: from the collection of L'Escluse, purchased 1826

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,37 m

colours: black and red

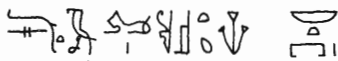
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, pp.255-256 (T.73)

LEIDEN 14

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 47b

Provenance: from the collection of J. d'Anastasi, purchased  
in 1828

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,375 m

colours: black outline + details in red

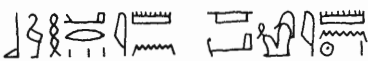
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.256 (T.74)

LEIDEN 15

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 51

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 11 cm, l. 0,65 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.256 (T.75)

LEIDEN 16

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 46

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,235 m

colours: black and red

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; coffin of type V

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, pp.256-257 (T.76); id.1887, passim

## LEIDEN 17

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 36

Provenance: from the collection of J. d'Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Owner:  [his son]   


Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 22,5 cm, l. 1,33 m

colours: black outline + details in red

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; mummy-braces of King Osorkon I;  
coffin of type V

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, pp.257-258 (T.77); id. 1888, passim; Jéquier 1894, p.32; Heerma van Voss 1982a, p.13, pl.16

## LEIDEN 18

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 49

Provenance: from the collection J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,59 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.258 (T.78)

## LEIDEN 19

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 44

Provenance: from the collection of J. d'Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,85 m

colours: black and red

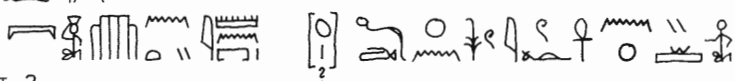
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Leemans 1840, p.258 (T.79)





Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24,5 cm, l. 0,775 m

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; coffin of type V

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1891, pp.173-174 (No 1109); Pavlov and Matié 1958, pl.78

## LENINGRAD 3

Hermitage, 2509

Provenance: from the collection of the baronesse Lévaschow,  
purchased by the Hermitage in 1890

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 21 cm, l. 0,59 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn. or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Golenischeff 1891, p.380 (No 2509)

## LENINGRAD 4

State Public M.J. Saltykov-Ščedrin Library, (1)

Provenance: about 1800 found in Thebes and given to Denon;  
in 1827 presented to the Library by Drovetti

Owner:

Type: BD.I.2

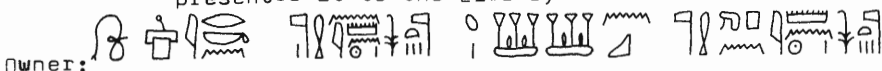
Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 0,79 m

Dating: 22nd Dyn.; grandson of King Osorkon I

Bibliography: Denon 1802, pl.138; Deveria 1874, p.104 n.1;  
Evgenova 1957 ("papyrus 1")

## LENINGRAD 5

State Public M.J. Saltykov-Ščedrin Library, (2)

Provenance: In 1800 acquired by Denon in Thebes; in 1827 pre-  
sented by Drovetti to a Russian diplomate, who  
presented it to the Library

Owner:









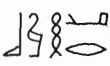




## LONDON 11

British Museum, 9974

Provenance: from the collection of Anastasi (43)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 12,7 cm, l. 0,40 m ; unfinished

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON 12

British Museum, 9975

Provenance: from the collection Salt (33, 39)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 0,60 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Guide BM 1922 p.297

## LONDON 13

British Museum, 9979

Provenance: from the collection Valentia

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 25,4 cm, l. 0,73 m (fragment)

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON 14

British Museum, 9980

Provenance: from the collection Anastasi (12)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24,1 cm, l. 0,622 m (fragment)

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Guide BM 1922, p.297

LONDON 15

British Museum, 9981

Provenance: from the collection of Salt, acquired in 1821

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 21,6 cm, l. 0,78 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Guide BM 1922, p.297

LONDON 16

British Museum, 9982

Provenance: from the collection Salt (121-2)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24,1 cm, l. 0,84 m

black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Guide BM 1922, p.297

LONDON 17

British Museum, 9983

Provenance: from the collection of Salt

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 16,5 cm, l. 1,016 m

colours: black, red, yellow

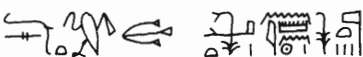
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Guide BM 1922, p.295

LONDON 18

British Museum, 9984

Provenance: from the collection of Salt

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 17,8 cm, l. 0,635 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 19

British Museum, 9985

Provenance: from the collection of Salt (783)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 12,8 cm, l. 0,80 m (fragment)

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 20

British Museum, 9987

Provenance: from the collection Butler (526)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 22,9 cm, l. 0,37 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 21

British Museum, 9992

Provenance: from the collection of Sams (22)

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 26,7 cm; l. 0,55 m

colours: black and red

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON 22

British Museum, 10000

Provenance: excavated in Thebes in 1818 by Lord Belmore

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 12,5 cm, l. 1,21 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Belmore 1843, pl.3

## LONDON 23

British Museum, 10001

Provenance: from the collection Hay (485)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 19 cm, l. 1,26 m

colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON 24

British Museum, 10002

Provenance: from the collection Barker (211), purchased 1833

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 28 cm, l. 1,43 m

colours: red, black, green, yellow, blue

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a, with

date: "Year 3" (of Amenemope or Siamun)

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON 25

British Museum, 10003

Provenance: from the collection Barker (219), acquired 1833

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 20,3 cm, l. 1,49 m

colours: red, blue, black





Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Budge, Papyrus of Ani (1895), p.276, fig.2;  
Ogden in Serapis 7 (1981-2), p. 65 n. 2

LONDON 26

British Museum, 10004

Provenance: from the collection Sams (15)

Owner:   


Type: A.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 19 cm, l. 1,25 m

colours: black, red, yellow, white


Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 27

British Museum, 10005

Provenance: from the collection Sams (27)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 20,5 cm, l. 0,96 m

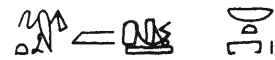
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 28

British Museum, 10006

Provenance: from the collection Sams (Barker 215), acquired  
in 1833

Owner: 

Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 1,93 m

colours: black, red, blue

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Lanzzone 1882, pl. CCXXXV; Mengedoht 1892, pp.  
151-152; Piankoff 1964a, pp.72-77, 138-141





Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 33 cm, l. 2,79 m

colours: white, black, blue, yellow; figures  
traces in red outline

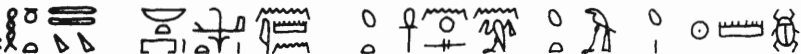
Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Shorter 1938, pp. 5-6, pl.VI

LONDON 36

British Museum, 10018

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 19,7 cm, l. 1,23 m

colours: black, red, yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; granddaughter of HP Menkheperre

Bibliography: Lanzone 1882, pl. CLIX; Piankoff 1835, p. 155;  
Schott 1965, p.187, 195; Guide BM 1922, p.296;  
Myśliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum I, p.83, fig.  
52, 64; Derchain-Urtel, in SAK 1(1974), p.91

LONDON 37

British Museum, 10019

Provenance: from the collection of Barker (207), purchased  
in 1833

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 20,3 cm, l. 2,63 m

colours: black and red

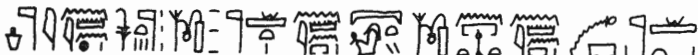

Dating: late 21st Dynasty

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 38

British Museum, 10020

Provenance: from the collection Barker (213), acquired 1833

Owner:   


Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 44,1 cm, l. 2,74 m

colours: red, blue, black

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Shorter 1938, p.6; Seeber 1976, p.212

LONDON 39

British Museum, 10024

Provenance: from the collection Vyse, purchased in 1838

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 17, 14 cm, l. 1,105 m

colours: black outline

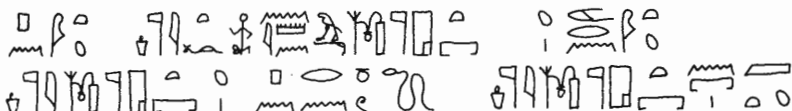
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 40

British Museum, 10029

Provenance: from the collection Anastasi (1076)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25,40 cm, l. 1,08 m

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON 41

British Museum, 10031

Provenance: from the collection Sams (40)

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 22,9 cm, l. 1,19 m

colours: black outline; recto and verso used

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished















Bibliography: Naville 1886, p.108; Guide BM 1909, pls I, XLI;  
Guide BM 1930, pp.80-81, fig. 29; Shorter 1938,  
pp.14-15, pl.V; Seeber 1976, p.210

## LONDON 61

British Museum, 10554

Provenance: from the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari, discovered  
about 1872 by the Arabs; in 1910 presented by Mrs.  
Mary Greenfield

Owner:   
  
  
  


Type: BD.III.2

Formal features: size: h. 47 - 49 cm, l. 40,538 m  
colours: black outline only

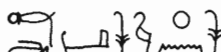

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; daughter of HP Pinudjem II; coffin  
of type III-a and IV-b, covered with bitumen; her  
husband (Djedptahiufankh) died under Sheshonq I

Bibliography: Budge 1912, passim; Heerma van Voss 1982a, p.9,  
pl. 56; Seeber 1976, p.211

## LONDON 62

British Museum, 10674

Provenance: presented by Lord Lindsay

Owner:   


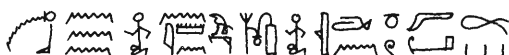
Type: A.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 11 cm, l. 3,20 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished





Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 19,68 cm; l. 1,00 m; non-illustrated

Dating: 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON D

British Museum, 10307

Provenance: unknown



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,50 m; non-illustrated

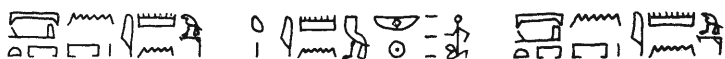
Dating: 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON E

British Museum, 10327

Provenance: from the collection Burton (130)



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24,1 cm, l. 0,48 m; non-illustrated

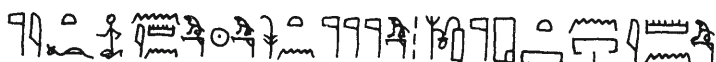
Dating: 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LONDON F

British Museum, 10339

Provenance: from the collection Joscelyne, acquired in 1863



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 11 cm, l. 0,24 m (fragm.)  
non-illustrated

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## LONDON G

British Museum, 10448

Provenance: from the collection of Chester

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 15,5 cm, l. 0,19 m; non-illustrated

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Shorter 1938, p.11

## LUXOR 1

City Museum, J.24 (on loan from EM Cairo, S.R.VII.10253)

Provenance: from the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891  
(Daressy's number of the coffin-ensemble: A.2)

Owner:



Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 21,5 cm, l. 1,215 m; colourful

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II;  
mummy-linen of HP Menkheperre; coffin of type II-c

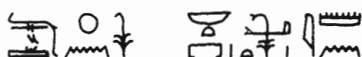
Bibliography: Photo Schott ("pap. h"); Romano 1979, pp.160-161, fig. 135, No 248

## LUXOR 2

City Museum, J.25 (on loan from EM Cairo, S.R.VII.10252)

Provenance: probably from the tomb Bab el-Gusus

Owner:



Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,24 m

colours: black, white, red, yellow, green,  
blue

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

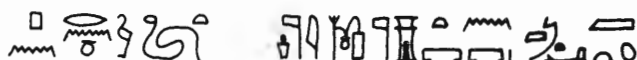
Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.80-81 ("pap. 4");  
Romano 1979, pp.162-163, fig. 136, no 251

## MANCHESTER 1

The John Rylands University Library, Hieroglyphic 1

Provenance: from the collection of the Earls of Crawford and  
Balcarres, bought for the Library in 1901

Owner:



Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24,3 cm; l. 0,98 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

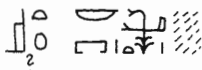
Bibliography: unpublished

#### MANCHESTER 2

The John Rylands University Library, Hieratic 2

Provenance: from the collection of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres, bought for the Library in 1901

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 21,5 cm, l. 0,495 m  
colours: black and red ink

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.

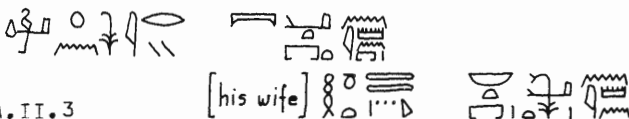
Bibliography: unpublished

#### MARSEILLE 1

Musée Borély, 292

Provenance: from the collection Clot-Bey, acquired about 1840

Owner:



Type: A.II.3

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: 22nd Dyn. or later

Bibliography: Lanzzone 1882, pl.CCLXVII; Maspero 1889b; Nelson 1978, p.62

#### MARSEILLE 2

Musée Borély, 293

Provenance: from the collection Clot-Bey

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 1.  
colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Maspero 1889b, pp.61-62; Nelson 1978, p.62

#### MARSEILLE 3

Musée Borély, 295

Provenance: from the collection Clot-Bey

Owner: anonymous



Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 1.  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Maspero 1889b, p.62; Nelson 1978, p. 62

#### MILAN

Museo Archeologico, E.1026

Provenance: bought in Egypt by Giuseppe Acerbi in 1830

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,72 m


Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Levi 1884, pp.566-583; Lise 1979, p.27, pl.93  
(No 71); id., 1981, pp. 84 and 87

#### MINNEAPOLIS

Institute of Arts, 16.675

Provenance: purchased in 1916 from the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24,7 cm, l. 1,00 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Minneapolis Bulletin 1916, p.59; Minneapolis  
Handbook 1917, p.27 (id. 1931, p.9)

#### MUNICH

Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, 89

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: small fragments

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## NEW YORK 1

Brooklyn Museum, 37.1699 E

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: fragment; colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## NEW YORK 2

Brooklyn Museum, 37.1782 E

Provenance: unknown

Owner:



Type: RD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. l.

colours: black outline

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Clère 1968, p.91, fig.2

## NEW YORK 3

Brooklyn Museum, 37.1826 E

Provenance: from the collection of the New York Historical Society

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. l.

colours: black outline

Dating: 22nd Dyn. or later; the occurrence of word s' mī.nn

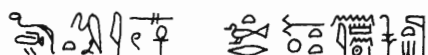
Bibliography: unpublished

## NEW YORK 4

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.27

Provenance: excavated by Winlock in Deir el-Bahari in 1924  
in the MMA-tomb no 60

Owner:



Type: A.II.

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm. l. about 2,5 m

colours: black with details in red

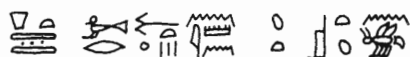
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-b

Bibliography: Winlock 1926, fig.32 on p.27 (papyrus in position on the mummy)

NEW YORK 5

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.28

Provenance: Winlock's excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1924 (in tomb MMA 60)



Owner:

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. about 1,5 m

colours: black and red

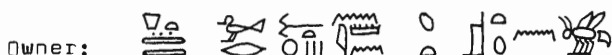
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Menkheperre; coffins of type II-c and II-d

Bibliography: unpublished

NEW YORK 6

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.29

Provenance: Winlock's excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1924 (in tomb MMA 60)



Owner:

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. about 20 cm, l. about 2 m

colours: black

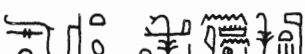
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Menkheperre; coffins of type II-c and II-d

Bibliography: Winlock 1926, fig. 35 on p. 29

NEW YORK 7

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.30

Provenance: Winlock's excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1924 (in tomb MMA 60)

Owner: 

Type: A.II.

Formal features: size: h. about 22 cm, l. about 2,20 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Winlock 1926, fig.31 on p.26

NEW YORK 8

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.31

Provenance: Winlock's excavations at Deir el-Bahari in 1924  
(in tomb MMA 60)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 1,18 m  
colours: white, red, green, black, yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.181-184 ("pap. no 24A"); Schott 1965, p.188

NEW YORK 9

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.32

Provenance: Winlock's excavations in tomb MMA 60 at Deir el-Bahari in 1924

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 1,40 m; etiquette colourful, the remaining parts in black and red

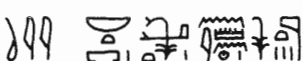
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type III-a

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, p.185 + Frontspiece  
("pap. no 24B"); Winlock 1926, fig. 30 on p.30

NEW YORK 10

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.33

Provenance: Winlock's excavations in tomb MMA 60 at Deir el-Bahari in 1924

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 1,225 m; colourful etiquette; the remaining part in black and red

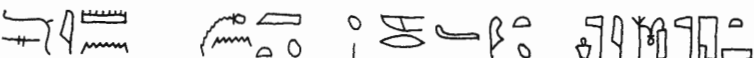
Dating: late 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-d

Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.179-180 ("pap. no 23")

NEW YORK 11

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.2.51

Provenance: unknown; Rogers Fund, 1926

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. about 22 cm, l. about 1,00 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

NEW YORK 12

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28.3.112

Provenance: from the MMA 830-tomb excavated at Thebes, 1928

Owner: 

Type: A.II.

Formal features: size: fragm. L. about 1,00 m  
colours: black and red ink

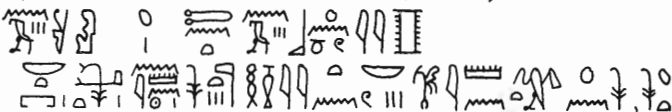
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

NEW YORK 13

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.3.31

Provenance: Winlock's excavations at Thebes, tomb MMA 65

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 30 cm, l. 5,64 m; colourful

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; daughter of HP Herihor; she was buried under the pontificate of HP Masaharti and reign of Smendes; coffins of the type II-a

Bibliography: Winlock 1930, pp.19-28, figs.27-32; Heerma van Voss 1982a, p.9, pl.4b; Dorman 1984, p.45 and cover



Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. about 1,20 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Blackman 1917, passim

OXFORD 3

Bodleian Library (no number ?)

Provenance: purchased in Egypt by the Colonel Vivian "shortly after the battle of Tell el-Kebir"; presented in 1913 by Vivian E. Skrine

Owner:



Type: A.I.1

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 2,44 m  
colours: black outline


Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Blackman 1918, passim

PARIS 1

Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles

Provenance: presented by Count Alberto de Luynes in 1862

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h.                      l.                      ; colourful

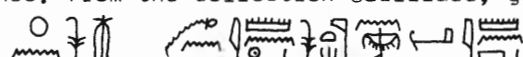
Dating: early 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Ledrain 1870, passim; Lanzone 1882, pl.CCXXXIV

PARTS 2

Bibliothèque Nationale, 20-23

Provenance: from the collection Cailliaud, gathered in 1820-1

Owner: 

Owner: 







colours: red, green, blue

Dating: middle 21st Dyn. or early 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a

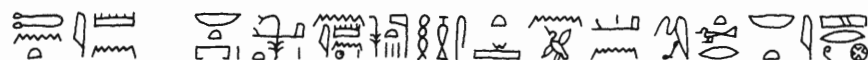
Bibliography: Piankoff 1964a, pp.165-169

PARIS 9

Bibliothèque Nationale, 170-173

Provenance: from the collection Thédénat-Duvent

Owner:



Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 21-22 cm, l. 3,25 m  
colours: red, green, yellow, black

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-c

Bibliography: Piankoff 1936, passim; Wiedemann 1878, p.103;  
id. 1900, pp. 155-160; Seeber 1976, p.211;  
Hornung 1979, pp.237, fig.40

PARIS 10

Musée du Louvre, N.3062

Provenance unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.

Formal features: size: h. 32 cm; colours: black outline  
the papyrus is not unrolled

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.47-48 (II.15)

PARIS 11

Musée du Louvre, N.3069

Provenance unknown



Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 21,6 cm, l. 1,06 m  
colours: black and yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.12-13 (I.4); Champollion 1827,  
p. 147 (I.3); Boreux 1932, p.418;  
Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.128-129 ("pap.13")





Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.  
Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.47 (II.13)

## PARIS 19

Musée du Louvre, N.3118

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: BD.

Formal features: size: h. 10,5 cm, l. 0,62 m (fragment)

Dating: 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.127 (III.108)

## PARIS 20

Musée du Louvre, N.3119

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm  
colours: black and red

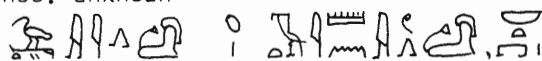
Dating: late 21st Dyn. or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p. 44 (II.6); Jéquier 1894, p.32

## PARIS 21

Musée du Louvre, N.3127

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1

Formal features: size: h. 33 cm (fragment)


Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.117 (III.91)

## PARIS 22

Musée du Louvre, N.3130 (actually on loan in Figeac)

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: (?) /etiquette only/, probably BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,50 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Dewachter 1986, p.77, no cat. 94



## PARIS 27

Musée du Louvre, N.3141

Provenance: unknown

Owner:    
 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 14 cm, l. 0,42 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.89-90 (III,50)

## PARIS 28

Musée du Louvre, N.3150

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,53 m (fragment)

colours:

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.61 (III.12)

## PARIS 29

Musée du Louvre, N.3179

Provenance: from the collection Salt, formed in Egypt in years  
1819-24 and acquired by the French Government in  
1826

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.3

Formal features: size: h. 30 cm (small fragments)

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.47 (II.14)

## PARIS 30

Musée du Louvre, N.3227

Provenance: from the collection Anastasi (1027)

Owner:  

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.  
Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.86 (III.45)

## PARIS 31

Musée du Louvre, N.3233-c

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 7,5 cm (fragment)

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p. 48 (II.16)

## PARIS 32

Musée du Louvre, N.3245

Provenance: from the collection Clot-Bey (207)

Owner:  [and] 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 17,5 cm; text written on recto and verso



Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.117 (III,90)

## PARIS 33

Musée du Louvre, N.3276

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Champollion 1827, p.148 (T.6); Devéria 1874, p. 40-43 (II.4); piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp. 203-209 ("pap. no 29"); Schott 1965, p.194





Formal features: size: h. 24 cm

colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités, vol. V, pl. 44; Devéria 1874, pp.44-45 (II.7)

PARIS 38

Musée du Louvre, N.3292

Provenance unknown

Owner:  

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 38 cm, l. 4,49 m ; multicoloured


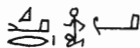
Dating: middle 21st Dyn

Bibliography: Champollion 1827, pp.144-146 (T.1); Devéria 1874 pp.1-8 (I.1); Spiegelberg in RT 16 (1894), p. 68; Nagel 1929, passim; Boreux 1932, vol. II, p. 422; Piankoff 1935, p.139ff; Schott 1965, p.188; Seeber 1976, p.212

PARIS 39

Musée du Louvre, N.3293

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 23,5 cm, l. 2,68 m

colours: black and red ink

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Champollion 1827, pp.146-147 (T.2); Devéria 1874, pp.8-11 (I.2); Piankoff 1935, pp.139-157

PARIS 40

Musée du Louvre, N.3294

Provenance: unknown

Owner:  

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm

colours: black and red ink

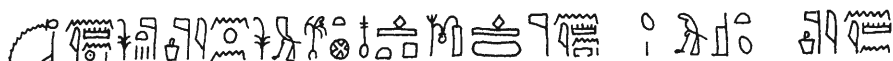
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.43 (II.5); Boreux 1932, p.423

PARIS 41

Musée du Louvre, N.3297

Provenance unknown

Owner: 

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 0,99 m

colours: black, white, red, green, blue,  
yellow

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Champollion 1827, p.148 (T.5); Devéria 1874,  
pp.13-15 (I.5); Lanzone 1882, pl. CCLVII;

Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.126-127 ("pap.12")

PARIS 42

Musée du Louvre, N.3374

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 9 cm (fragm.)

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.45-46 (II.9)

PARIS 43

Musée du Louvre, N.3451

Provenance unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm

colours: black outline

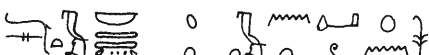
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.39-40 (II.3); Jéquier 1894, p.  
32; Cenival, Yoyotte and Ziegler 1987, pp.274-5

PARIS 44

Musée du Louvre, N.3661

Provenance: from the collection de Luynes

Owner: 

Type: BD.II.2

Formal features: size: h. 41 cm

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.86-87

PARIS 45

Musée du Louvre N.5451

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: 18 cm (fragment)

coloures: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, pp.46-47 (II.11)

PARIS 46

Musée du Louvre, E.6257

Provenance Unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 1.

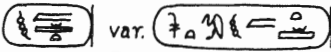



Dating: probably 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

PARIS 47

Musée du Louvre, E.6258

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari; acquired  
by Pierret in 1877

Owner:  [and]    
  


Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 34,6 cm, l. 8,92 m; multicoloured

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Herihor, she died early  
in the reign of King Psusennes I; coffin of type II-a

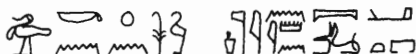
Bibliography: Naville 1878, p.29 ff; Pierret 1878, pp.131-134;  
Naville 1886, pp.108-109 ("Pq"); Bonhême 1987,130

PARIS 48

Musée du Louvre, E.17399

Provenance: purchased 1951 from the baron Mallet, Château des  
Cites à Jouy en Josas (Seine-et-Oise)

Owner:



Type: BD.II.1

Formal features: size: h. 34,5 cm, l. 2,11 m

colours: yellow, blue, black, brown

Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

PARIS 49

Musée du Louvre, E.17400

Provenance: purchased in 1951 from the baron Mallet

Owner:



Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 1,80 m

colours: green, red, black, yellow

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a

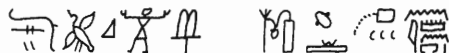
Bibliography: unpublished

PARIS 50

Musée du Louvre, E.17401

Provenance: purchased in 1951 from the baron Mallet

Owner:



Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 19,3 cm, l. 2,56 m

colours: blue, green, red, yellow

Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

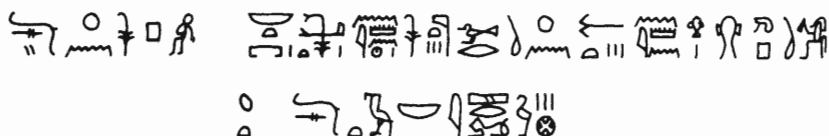
Bibliography: Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp.104-108 ("pap.9");  
Seeber 1976, p.212; Ziegler, Naissance de l'  
écriture, Paris 1982, pp.290-291, no 245

PARIS 51

Musée du Louvre, E.31856

Provenance: received from the Musée Guimet

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 21,7 cm, l. 0,86 m

colours: white, green, red, black

Dating: 22nd Dyn; probably daughter of Nesitanebetasheru,  
daughter of HP Pinudjem II

Bibliography: unpublished

PARIS A

Musée du Louvre, N.3132 (actually on loan in Figeac)

Provenance: unknown

Owner:

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 17 cm, l. 0,33 m (non-illustrated)

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Devéria 1874, p.75 (III.33); Dewachter 1986,  
pp.32-33 (Cat. No 12)

RICHMOND

Virginia Museum, 54-10

Provenance: unknown, purchased in 1954

Owner:

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal feature: size: h. 20,32 cm, l. 1,10 m

Dating: late 21st Dyn.; granddaughter of HP Menkheperre


Bibliography: Brown 1973, pp.42-43, No 42



## TURIN 3

Museo Egizio, 1770

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,97 m

colours: black outline

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.229

## TURIN 4

Museo Egizio, 1771

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 3,44 m

colours: red, white, green, blue, black,  
yellow, brown

Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.208; Seeber  
1976, p.213; Photo Schott

## TURIN 5

Museo Egizio, 1776

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 4,16 m

colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.


Bibliography: Lanzone 1879, passim; Fabretti, Rossi and Lan-  
zone 1882, pp.211-212; Jéquier 1894, pp.31-32

## TURIN 6

Museo Egizio, 1777

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti



Owner: 

Type: A.II.1b

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,44 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.212

TURIN 7

Museo Egizio, 1778

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 12 cm (fragm.), l. 1,54 m  
colours: black outline

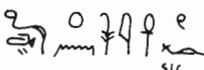
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

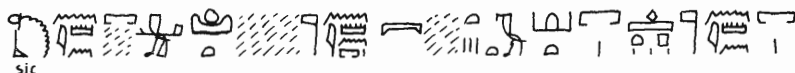
Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, pp.212-213

TURIN 8

Museo Egizio, 1779

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner:   
sic

  
sic

Type: A.II.3

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 1,23 m  
colours: black and red


Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.213

TURIN 9

Museo Egizio, 1780

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

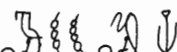


Type: A.II.2b



## TURIN 13

Museo Egizio, 1784

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner:    


Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: 24 cm, l. 1,57 m  
 colours: black outline

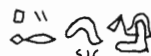
Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.215

## TURIN 14

Museo Egizio, 1785

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,60 m  
 colours: black

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.215

## TURIN 15

Museo Egizio, 1786

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 0,38 m (fragment)  
 colours: black and red ink

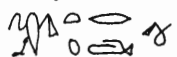
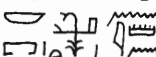
Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.215

## TURIN 16

Museo Egizio, 1787

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner:  

Type: A.II.2b

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 0,60 m (fragm.)  
 colours: black

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p. 216

#### TURIN 17

Museo Egizio, 1788

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2a

Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 0,275 m (fragment)  
colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.216

#### TURIN 18

Museo Egizio, 1789

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.III.2b

Formal features: size: h.13 cm, l. 1,25 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.216

#### TURIN 19

Museo Egizio, 1790

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

Type: A.II.1a

Formal features: size: h. 22 cm, l. 0,60 m (fragments)

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.216

#### TURIN 20

Museo Egizio, 1849

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: 

Type: RD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 2,33 m  
colours: colourful etiquette

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.231





## TURIN 28

Museo Egizio, 1862B

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner: anonymous

(according to Fabretti:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 31 cm (fragment)  
colours: multicoloured etiqette

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882, p.234

## TURIN 29

Museo Egizio, 1862C

Provenance: from the collection Drovetti

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

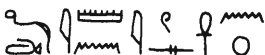
Bibliography: unpublished

## VATICAN 1

Bibliotheca Vaticana, 46

Provenance: unknown

Owner:



Type: BD.

Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: 21st or 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Marucchi 1891, p.40 ("pap. V")

## VATICAN 2

Bibliotheca Vaticana, 52

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.

Formal features: size: h. 1. ; black outline

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Marucchi 1891, pp.44-46 ("pap. XI")

## VATICAN 3

Bibliotheca Vaticana, 91

Provenance: unknown

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 1.  
colours: black outline


Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Marucchi 1891, pp.99-100, pl.IV

## VIENNA 1

Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3859

Provenance: from the collection Nizzoli (?)

Owner: 

Type: A.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 15,3 cm, l. 4,205 m  
colours: green, red, black, yellow, grey

Dating: middle 21st Dyn.; coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Demel 1944, passim; Piankoff and Rambova 1957,  
pp.143-149 ("pap. nos 16-17"); Seeber 1976, p.  
211; Meulenaere 1978, passim; Hornung 1979b, p.  
232, fig.29

## VIENNA 2

Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3860

Provenance: from the collection Nizzoli (?)

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 20 cm, l. 2,55 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: middle or late 21st Dyn.


Bibliography: Catalogue of the Exhibition in Basel "Schätze  
altägyptischer Kunst", Basel 1953, no 140;  
Müller, Wessel and v. Beckerath 1961, p.130, no  
212; Seeber 1976, p.204; Heerma van Voss 1977, p.  
88



## VIENNA 3

Kunsthistorisches Museum, (no number)

Provenance: unknown

Owner: 

Type: A.

Formal features: size: small fragment; colours: black outline

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## VIENNA 4

Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,  
Aeg. 12000

Provenance unknown

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2


Formal features: size: h. 24 cm, l. 1,10 m  
colours: multicoloured etiquette

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

## WARSAW

Muzeum Narodowe, 199628 MN

Provenance: from the collection Minutoli; purchased in Egypt  
about 1823; sold at auction in Cologne in 1875Owner: 

Type: A.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 23 cm, l. 1,26 m  
colours: white, black, green, red, yellow,  
pink

Dating: late 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Catalogue Minutoli 1875; Maspero 1895, p.197;  
Sethe 1928, p.12; Schäfer 1935, fig.17;  
Andrzejewski 1959, passim; Hornung 1979b, p.227  
fig.19

## ZAGREB 1

Archaeological Museum, 883

Provenance: from the collection of Baron von Koller, gathered  
in Egypt between 1815-1826 (no 605)

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 43,5 cm, l. 1,495 m  
colours: black and red ink

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Monnet Saleh 1970, p.165

## ZAGREB 2

Archaeological Museum, 884

Provenance: from the collection of Baron von Koller, gathered  
in Egypt between 1815-1826

Owner: anonymous

Type: A.II.2a

Formal features: size: h. 19,5 cm, l. 0,54 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

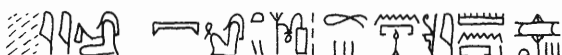
Bibliography: Monnet Saleh 1970, p.165

## ZAGREB 3

Archaeological Museum, 885

Provenance: from the collection of Baron von Koller, gathered  
in Egypt between 1815-1826 (no 600)

Owner:



Type: BD.III.1a

Formal features: size: h. 16,5 cm (fragm.), l. about 2 m  
colours: red, yellow, blue, green, white

Dating: early or middle 21st Dyn.

Bibliography: Monnet Saleh 1970, p.165; Seeber 1976, p.213

## ZAGREB 4

Archaeological Museum, 887

Provenance: from the collection of Baron von Koller

Owner:



Type: BD.I.2

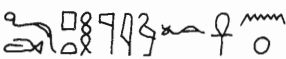
Formal features: size: h. 25 cm, l. 0,93 m  
colours: black and red

Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: Monnet Saleh 1970, p.168

#### LOCATION UNKNOWN 1

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari; acquired in Luxor in 1873; belonged to the collection of Brocklehurst of Danebridge near Macclesfield

Owner: 

Type: BD.I.2

Formal features: size: h. 30,5 cm, l. 2,75 m  
colours: black outline

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Iuput; mummy-linen with dates: "Year 5", "Year 10", "Year 11" (probably of King Sheshonq I); coffin of type V

Bibliography: Edwards 1883, pp.86-87; Naville 1886, p.68 n.1 (= Pap. Brocklehurst I)

#### LOCATION UNKNOWN 2

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, discovered by the Arabs about 1872; belonged to the collection of Mook

Owner: (Nodjmet)

Type: BD.II.1

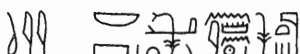
Formal features: size: h. 34,6 cm, l. about 1,50 m  
colours: white, red, green, yellow, blue

Dating: early 21st Dyn.; wife of HP Herihor; she died in the early reign of Psusennes I; coffin of type II-a

Bibliography: Wiedemann in ZÄS 23, p.83; Shorter 1938, p.14

#### LOCATION UNKNOWN 3

Provenance: excavated by Winlock in the tomb MMA 60 at Deir el-Bahari in 1924; numbered with the MMA accession number 25.3.34, however, according to the information from the MMA, it was retained by the Cairo Museum; I was not able to find the papyrus there, similarly like a number of other papyri originated from the same excavations by Winlock, which should be retained by Egypt, according to the agreement concerning the division of the excavated objects.

Owner: 

Type: BD.III.1b

Formal features: size: h. 1.

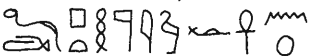


Dating: late 21st or early 22nd Dyn.

Bibliography: unpublished

LOCATION UNKNOWN 7

Provenance: from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari, discovered  
by the natives about 1872, officially in 1881

Owner: (Djedptahiufankh)  0

Type: U (decree of Amun, non-illustrated)






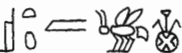


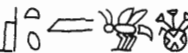

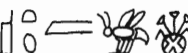



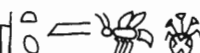
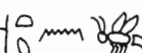
Formal features: size: h. 1.

Dating: early 22nd Dyn.; mummy-braces of HP Iuput; mummy-linen  
with dates: Year 5, 10 and 11 of Sheshonq I; coffin of  
type V

Bibliography: Maspero 1889a, p.574

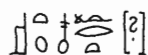


Index of the names found on the papyri

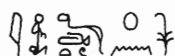
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	Manchester 2
	Cairo 12
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	Cairo 1, 38, 91, Cairo A
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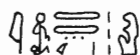
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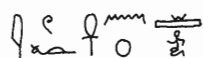
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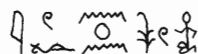
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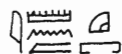
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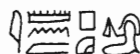
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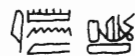
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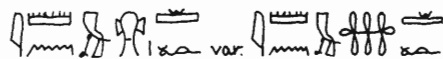
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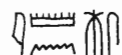
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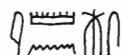
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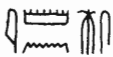
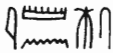
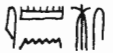


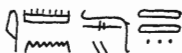
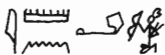

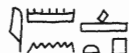

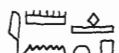
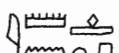
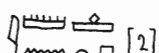
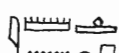

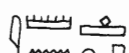
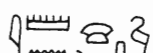


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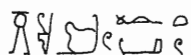
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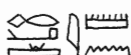
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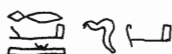
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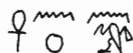
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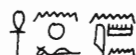
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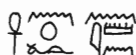
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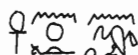
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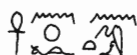
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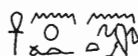
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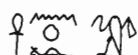
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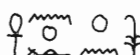
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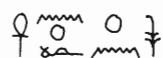
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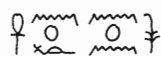
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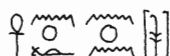
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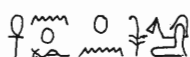
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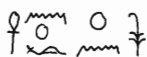
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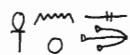
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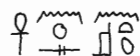
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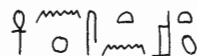
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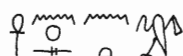
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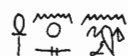
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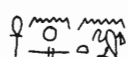
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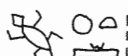
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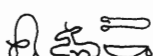
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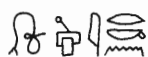
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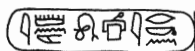
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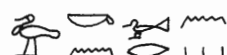
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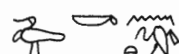
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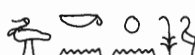
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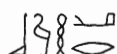
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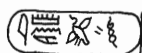
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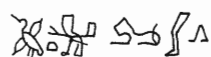
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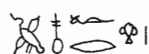
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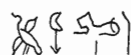
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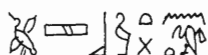
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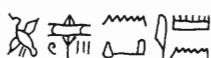
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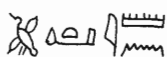
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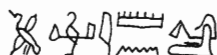
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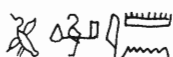
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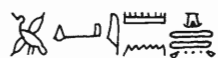
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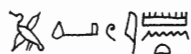
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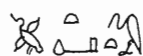
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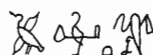
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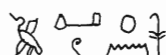
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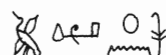
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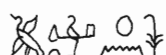
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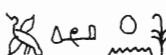
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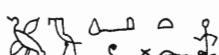
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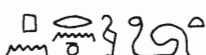
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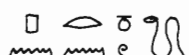
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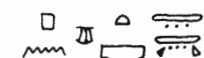
Manchester 1



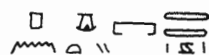
London 40



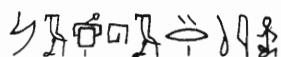
London 38, 40



Cairo 46



London 49



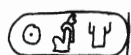
Cairo A



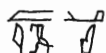
London 2



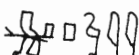
Cairo 13, 38



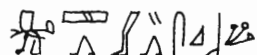
Cairo 43



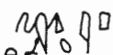
Havana



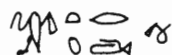
Cairo 100



Turin 2



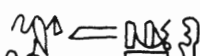
Leiden 10



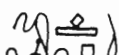
Turin 16



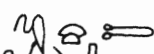
Berlin 27



London 25, 28



London 31



Turin 29



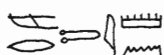
London 40



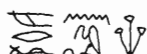
New York 11



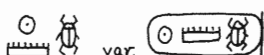
Cairo 31



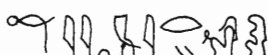
Cairo 49, 64



Cairo 37

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Richmond

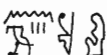
Cairo 5, 41



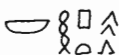
London 21



New York 12



New York 13, 14



Turin 1



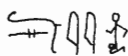
Turin 14



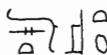
London 58



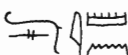
Turin 24



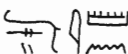
London 41



New York 7



New York 2



Avignon

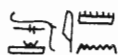


Avignon

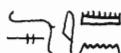




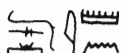
Cairo 55



London 44



New York 11



Turin 9



Cairo 98



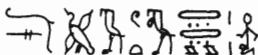
Berlin 26



Berlin 7



Leiden 21



Berlin 9



Cairo 75



Cairo 87



London 50



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loc. unkn. 4



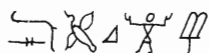
Berlin 4, Oxford 3



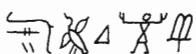
London 15



Chicago 3



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Paris 50



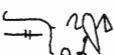
Berlin 12



Cairo 34, 110



Hamm



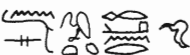
London 18



London 43



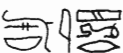
Turin 21



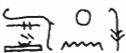
London 16



London 26



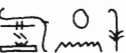
Edinburgh



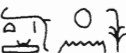
Cairo 10



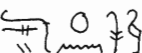
Cairo 24



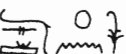
Cairo 109, Cairo A



Houston



Leiden 8



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Luxor 2

Paris 26, 27

Paris 51

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Leiden 4

Turin 11

Cairo 21, 119

London 54

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Paris 30

Cairo A

Paris 51

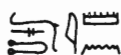
Cairo 104

Cairo 126

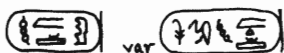
Paris 44

Cairo 115

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New York 2



London 36, Richmond



Oxford 2



Cleveland 2



Cairo 107



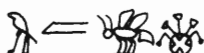
Paris 41



Avignon



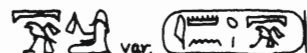
Berlin 26



Berlin 1, Leiden 2, London F



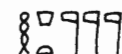
London 34



London 60, Paris 47



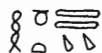
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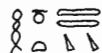
Paris 4



Cairo 2, 3



Cairo 54



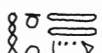
London 36, Richmond



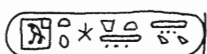
New York 5, 6



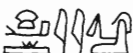
Cairo 106



Marseille 1



Cairo 36, 47



London 9



Cairo 87



Berlin 8



Cairo 123, Chicago 2



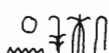
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Cairo 32, 33, 81, 94



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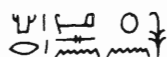
New York 8, 9



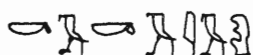
Turin 22



Paris 32



Cairo 11, 50



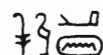
London F



Cairo K



Cairo F



Leningrad 6



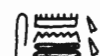
Paris 4



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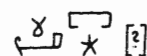
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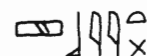
Havana



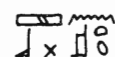
Berlin 23, London 7



London 42



Cairo 86



Paris 23



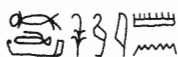
Leningrad 4, 5



Berlin 17



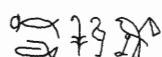
London 27, 42



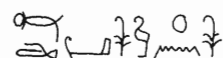
Cairo 53



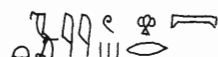
Cairo 116, 121



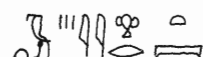
Cairo 120



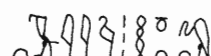
London 62



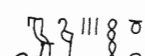
Leiden 1, 1 bis



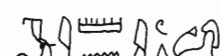
Cairo 118, 122



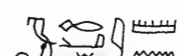
Chicago 3



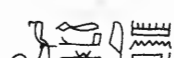
Cairo 80, 99



Paris 21



Cairo 15



Cairo 79



Cairo 118



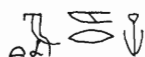
Cairo 59



Paris 36



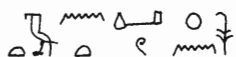
Leiden 3



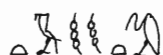
Turin 20



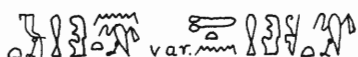
London 24, 30



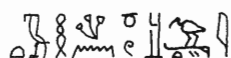
Paris 44



Turin 13



Berlin 19, Warsaw



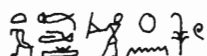
Cairo A



London 16



Cairo 77



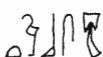
Berlin A



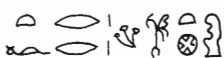
New York 10, loc. unkn. 3



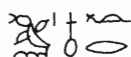
Paris 32



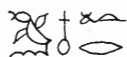
Berlin 11



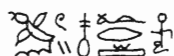
London A, Paris 20



Cairo 33, 81



Cairo 41

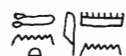


Cairo A

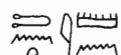


Paris 14, 40





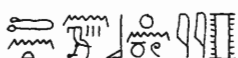
Paris 9



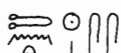
Leiden 1



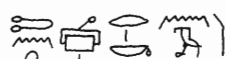
Luxor 1



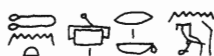
New York 13, 14



Leiden 6



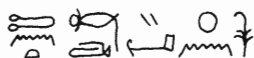
Cairo 25



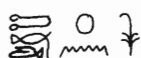
London 4



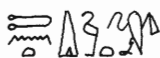
London 10, Paris 35



London 6



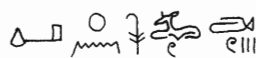
Florence



Cairo 71, 88, Cairo B



Cairo 39, 92



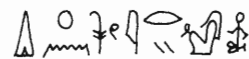
loc. unkn. 5



Marseille 1



Cairo 73



London E



London 8

loc. unkn. 5

Berlin 9

Paris 32

Paris 21

Turin 10

Berlin 10

Cairo 27, 28

Cairo 6

Vatican 1

London D

Cairo 83, loc. unkn. 1, 7

Cairo 8, 16

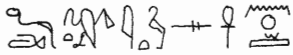
Paris 22

Leningrad 7

London 51

Cairo 57, 60

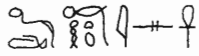
New York 4



Turin 25



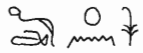
Leiden 17



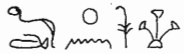
Berlin 6



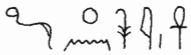
Leiden 17



Berlin 8



London 17



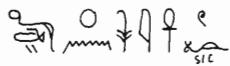
New York 2



Berlin 16



London 55



Turin 8



Cairo 95, 120



Cairo 96



Turin 24



Bologna 1



London 43



Leningrad 7



Minneapolis



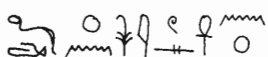
Cairo 20



Cairo 30



Leningrad 2



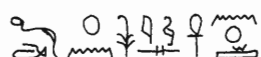
Cairo 84



London 46



Leningrad 1



Paris 33, 34



London 57

# TABLES



TABLE Ia

OCCURRENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE PAPYRI OF THE  
NEW KINGDOM

PAPYRUS	BD-CHAPTERS																																																																									
	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	76																																				
PAP. TJANENA	(X)				(X)				X	X	X	X	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	X					X									(X)			(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)																																				
PAP. BROCKLEHURST			X										(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)			(X)									(X)			(X)	(X)				(X)																																						
PAP. BM 9905																(X)					(X)																X																																					
PAP. JUJA	(X)				(X)				X	X						(X)																	(X)	(X)																																								
PAP. MAIHERPERI	(X)	(X)														(X)												(X)			(X)	(X)																																										
PAP. NEBSENI	(X)		X	(X)		X		X	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)			(X)				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			(X)	X	X			(X)	(X)																																					
PAP. NEBAMUN	X	X	X	(X)	X							X		X	X	(X)					X	X		(X)				(X)			X	(X)	X				X	X																																				
PAP. BAKAI	(X)											(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)												(X)			(X)					(X)																																						
PAP. KHA (TURIN)	(X)						X		X	X	(X)					(X)	(X)															(X)	X				(X)																																					
PAP. NAKHT	(X)	X		X	(X)	(X)	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X		X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X							X	(X)	(X)	(X)				(X)																																					
PAP. KENNA	(X)								(X)	(X)	(X)			(X)		(X)					(X)												(X)																																									
PAP. REINISCH					(X)																		X										(X)			(X)																																						
PAP. NEFERUBENEF	(X)		X	(X)		X			(X)		X	X	(X)	X	(X)					(X)	(X)	(X)					X	X	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X	(X)	X	(X)	(X)																																				
PAP. NEBKED			X				X	X	X		X	(X)	(X)			(X)				X	X	(X)											X				X																																					
PAP. NEFERROWPET									(X)	(X)	(X)		X		(X)	(X)						(X)										(X)	(X)		X	X	(X)	(X)																																				
PAP. CHARUI	(X)								(X)	X										(X)									(X)																																													
PAP. ANI	(X)	X			(X)	(X)	(X)		(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)					(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)		(X)		(X)	(X)	(X)				(X)																																					
	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74																																					
	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	37	39	41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	71	73																																					
	BD-CHAPTERS																																																																									
	LEGEND : x = text only (X) = text illustrated with vignette																																																																									

LEGEND : x = text only (X) = text illustrated with vignette

(CONTINUATION)

BD-CHAPTERS



TABLE Ia  
(CONTINUATION)

BD-CHAPTERS	
PATYRUS	161 167 169 171 173 175 177 179 181 183 186 188 190 160 166 168 170 172 174 176 178 180 182 185 187 189 other chapters
PAP. TJANENA	⊗
PAP. BROCKLEHURST	x ⊗
PAP. BM 9905	
PAP. DUJA	⊗
PAP. MAIHERPERI	
PAP. NEBSENI	⊗ ⊗ ⊗ x ⊗ x x x x ⊗
PAP. NEBAMUN	x
PAP. BAKAI	
PAP. KHA (TURIN)	⊗
PAP. NAKHT	⊗ ⊗
PAP. KENNA	x x ⊗ ⊗
PAP. REINISCH	
PAP. NEFERUBENEF	⊗ x x x
PAP. NEBKED	
PAP. NEFERROWPET	⊗ x
PAP. CHARUI	⊗
PAP. ANI	⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗
	161 167 169 171 173 175 177 179 181 183 186 188 190 160 166 168 170 172 174 176 178 180 182 185 187 189 other chapters
BD-CHAPTERS	

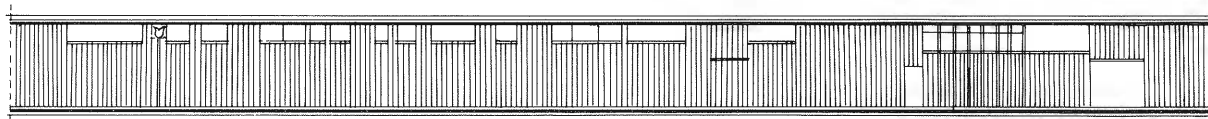
T A B L E Ib

SEQUENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE NEW KINGDOM PAPYRI (SOME EXAMPLES)

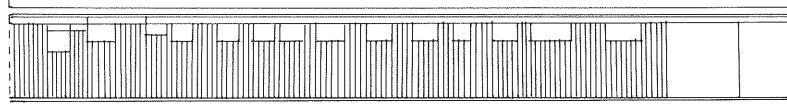
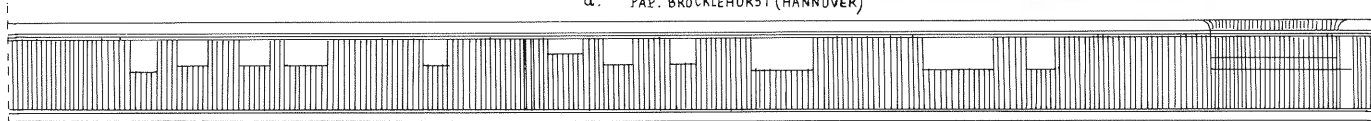
- Pap. Tjanena (Louvre): Offering scene - 17 - 18 - New - 124 -  
 - 1 - 22 - 23 - 25 - 26 - 28 - 27 - 30 - 31 -  
 - 33 - 34 - 74 - 91 - 14 - 68 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 63 -  
 - 105 - 95 - 119 - 86 - 87 - 81 - 42 - 79 - 72 -  
 - 132 - 9 - 99 - 144 - 71 - 151 - 15 - 100 - 147 -  
 - 146 - 125 - 148 - 125 - 136 B - 149/150
- Pap. Brocklehurst (Hannover): ...86 - 171 - 133 - 81 - 105 -  
 - 72 - 123 - 25 - 26 - 28 - 30 - 35 - 124 - 82 -  
 - 63 - 62 - 56 - 132 - 102 - 5 - 42 - 99 -  
 - 144 - 148 - 125
- Pap. BM 9905: ...71 - 106 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 82 - 30B - 77 - 86 -  
 - 99 - 102 - 38 - 125 - 149/150
- Pap. Juja (Cairo): E - 1 - 17 - 18 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 77 - 86 -  
 - 82 - 87 - 81 - 63 - 64 - 141/3 - 190 - 104 -  
 - 103 - 10 - 118 - 117 - 119 - 148 - 151 - 156 -  
 - 155 - 101 - 153 - 64 - 30B - 110 - 145 - 144 -  
 - 146 - 99 - 125/126 - 100 - 102 - 136 - 149/150
- Pap. Maiherperi (Cairo): 1 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 82 - 77 - 86 - 81 -  
 - 105 - 2 - 61 - 60 - 56 - 152 - 30B - 92 - 89 -  
 - 99 - 136 - 149 - 150 - 125/126 - 145 - 147 -  
 - 148 - 127
- Pap. Reinisch (Vienna): ...86 - 87 - 88 - 43 - 78 - 63 - 98 -  
 - 9 - 99 - 100 - 125 - 126 - 136 - 102 - 149 -  
 - 153 - 150 - 123 - 91 - 67 - 116 - 109 - 108 -  
 - 119 - 104 - 92 - Offering scene
- Pap. Hunefer (London): E - 15 - 183 - 125 - 1 - 22 - 17
- Pap. Charui (London): E - 125/6 - 1 - 17 - 57 - 92 - 38 - 148 -  
 - 18 - 125 - 110 - 186
- Pap. Kenna (Leiden): 15 - 1 - 125 - 17 - 18 - 180 - 181 - 15 -  
 - 151 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 82 - 77 - 86 - 99 - 119 -  
125/126 - 88 - 87 - 81 - 102 - 136 - 144 - 146 -  
32 - 39 - 79 - 63 - 89 - 110 - 148 - 185 - 186
- Pap. Nebked (Louvre): E - 124 - 1 - 72 - 14 - 24 - 64 - 117 -  
 - 116 - 109 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 82 - 77 - 86 - 87 -  
 - 88 - 81 - 30 - 7 - 27 - 38 - 125 - 151 - 27 -  
 - 151 - 27 - 91 - 42 - 6 - 41 - 125 - 64 - 100 -  
 - 99 - 102 - 18 - 42 - 110
- Pap. Neferronpet (Brussels): ...17 - 125 - 100 - 102 - 136 -  
 - 149 - 150 - 64 - 30 - 65 - 72 - 71 - 68 - 69 -  
 - 70 - 130 - 141/3 - 190 - 133 - 135 - 136 -  
 - 134 - 101 - 99 - 82 - 77 - 85 - 124 - 84 - 83 -  
 - 86 - 87 - 88 - 78 - 116 - 115 - 112 - 108 -  
 - 112 - 113 - 109 - 22 - 23 - 27 - 42 - 92 - 151 -  
 - 166 - 32 - 138

TABLE II

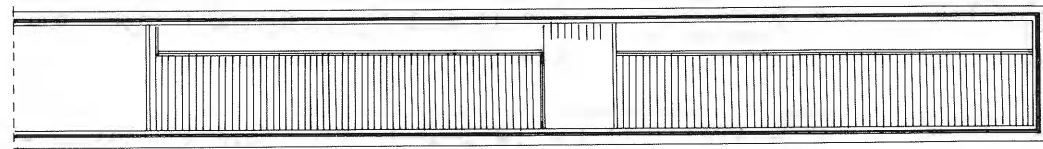
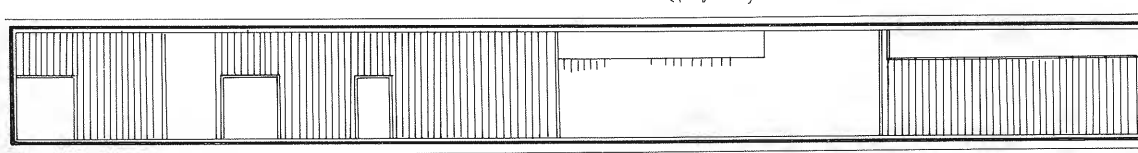
PATTERNS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXTS AND VIGNETTES IN THE PAPYRI OF THE NEW KINGDOM



a. PAP. BROCKLEHURST (HANNOVER)



b. PAP. BM.9905 (fragments)



c. PAP. HUNEFER (BM 9901)

# T A B L E   I I I

## FUNERARY ENSEMBLES OF PAPYRI AND COFFINS IN THE EM CAIRO

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1/. Papyrus S.R.IV.525<br>Coffin J. 26198                                     | 14/. Papyrus S.R.IV.952<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10244<br>Coffin J.29736              |
| 2/. Papyrus S.R.IV.526<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.527<br>Coffins J.49100-102           | 15/. Papyrus S.R.IV.953<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11487<br>Coffin in Austria (Vienna)  |
| 3/. Papyrus S.R.IV.529<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.967<br>Coffin J.29628                | 16/. Papyrus S.R.IV.955<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.992<br>Coffin J.26204                 |
| 4/. Papyrus S.R.IV.541<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10228<br>Coffin CG 6002-6004        | 17/. Papyrus S.R.IV.960<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10257<br>Coffin J.29669              |
| 5/. Papyrus S.R.IV.542<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.553<br>Coffin J.29660                | 18/. Papyrus S.R.IV.961<br>Coffin J.29699                                       |
| 6/. Papyrus S.R.IV.543<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.546<br>Coffin in USA, Washington     | 19/. Papyrus S.R.IV.979<br>Papyrus J.95705(?)<br>Coffin J.29670                 |
| 7/. Papyrus S.R.IV.544<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10252<br>Coffin J.29632             | 20/. Papyrus S.R.IV.980<br>Coffin J.26200                                       |
| 8/. Papyrus S.R.IV.548<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.959<br>Coffin J.29612                | 21/. Papyrus S.R.IV.981<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10654<br>Coffin J.29666              |
| 9/. Papyrus S.R.IV.554<br>Papyrus S.R.IV.556<br>Coffin J.29663                | 22/. Papyrus S.R.IV.984<br>Coffin J.29698                                       |
| 10/. Papyrus S.R.IV.555<br>Coffin J.29671                                     | 23/. Papyrus S.R.IV.994<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10272<br>Coffin J.29641              |
| 11/. S.R.IV.558 (papyrus)<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11497<br>Coffin in USSR (Odessa) | 24/. Papyrus S.R.IV.1001<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10221<br>Coffin in Holland (Leiden) |
| 12/. Papyrus S.R.IV.933<br>Coffin J.29704                                     | 25/. Papyrus S.R.IV.1003<br>Coffin in Copenhagen                                |
| 13/. Papyrus S.R.IV.936<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10265<br>Coffin J.29635            | 26/. Papyrus S.R.IV.1530<br>Coffin J.29678                                      |
|   | 27/. Papyrus S.R.IV.1531<br>Coffin J.29656                                      |

T A B L E III (continuation)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 28/. Papyrus S.R.IV.i535<br>Coffin J.29611  | 43/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10254<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10256<br>Coffin J.29738               |
| 29/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10222<br>Coffin in Vienna                                      | 44/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10255<br>Coffin J.29675  |
| 30/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10224<br>Coffin J.29649  | 45/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10266<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11498<br>Coffin in USSR               |
| 31/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10225<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10249<br>Coffin J.29661               | 46/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10274<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10652<br>Coffin J.29730               |
| 32/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10230<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11495<br>Coffin J.29695               | 47/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10651<br>Coffin J.29716  |
| 33/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10232<br>Coffin J.29623  | 48/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11485<br>Coffin J.26199  |
| 34/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10234<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.10251<br>Coffin in Berlin-East        | 49/. Papyrus S.R.VII.ii488<br>Coffin J.26217  |
| 35/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10236<br>Coffin J.29733  | 50/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11490<br>Magical papyrus<br>Coffin in Madrid                   |
| 36/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10238<br>Coffin in Vienna                                      | 51/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11492<br>Papyrus BM 10793<br>Coffin J.26197                    |
| 37/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10239<br>Papyrus in Chicago,<br>Field Museum<br>Coffin J.29654 | 52/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11493<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11504<br>Coffin in Washington         |
| 38/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10240<br>Coffin J.29625  | 53/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11494<br>Papyrus S.R.11499<br>Coffin in Athens                 |
| 39/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10241<br>Coffin J.29680  | 54/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11496<br>Papyrus S.R.VII.11500<br>Coffin J.29737               |
| 40/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10242<br>Coffin J.29683  | 55/. Papyrus S.R.VII.11501<br>Papyrus in Chicago,<br>Field Museum<br>Coffin J.29613 |
| 41/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10246<br>Papyrus Brocklehurst I<br>Coffin J.26201              |   |
| 42/. Papyrus S.R.VII.10247<br>Coffin J.29658  |   |

TABLE IV

SCHEMES OF ARRANGEMENT OF THE PAPYRJ IN THE EXHIBITION ROOMS IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM IN CAIRO

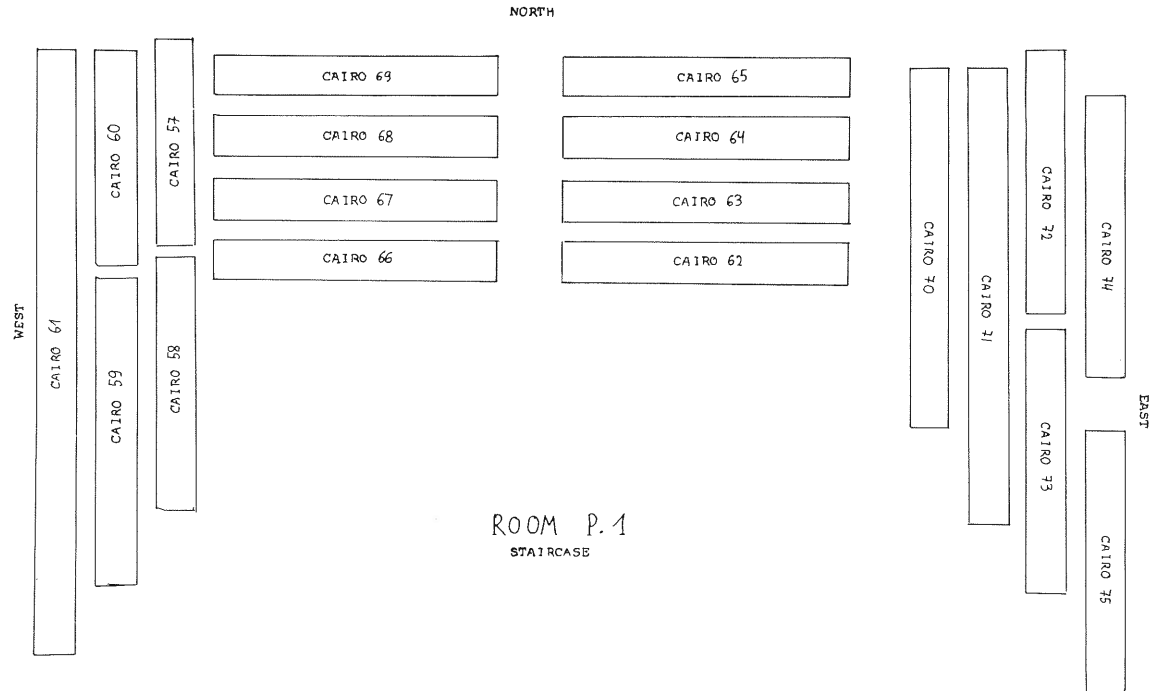
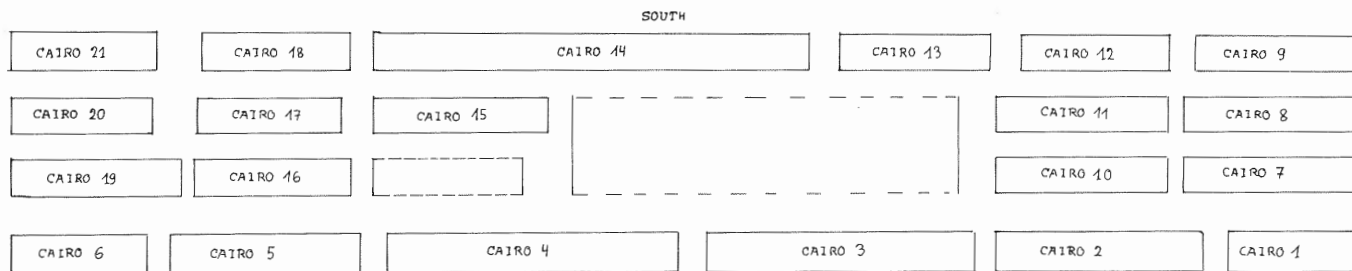


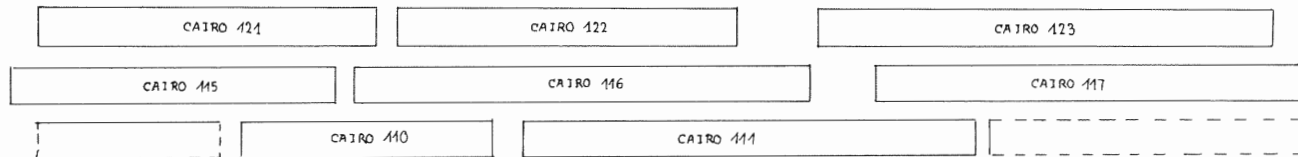
TABLE IV  
(CONTINUATION)



ROOM P. 29

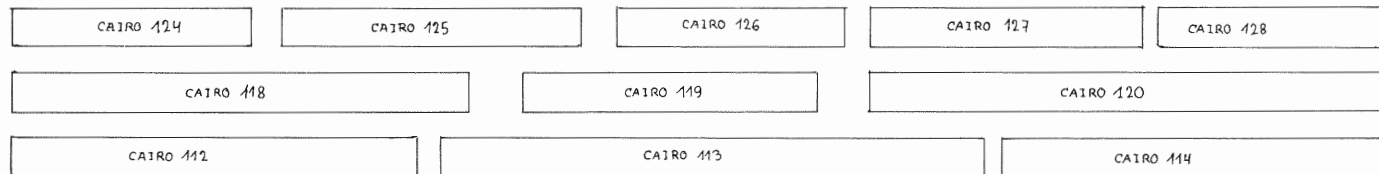
TABLE IV  
(CONTINUATION)

SOUTH



ROOM P. 24

NORTH



CAIRO 109  
(ENTRANCE)



Diagram of Room P.5 showing the layout of desks and chairs. The room is rectangular with a staircase at the bottom center. Desks are labeled with numbers 76 through 92. Chairs are labeled with numbers 80 through 93. The layout is symmetrical around a central aisle. The top wall is labeled 'NORTH' and the bottom wall is labeled 'STAIRCASE'. The left wall is labeled 'WEST' and the right wall is labeled 'EAST'.

Room P.5

STAIRCASE

WEST

EAST

NORTH

CAIRO 86

CAIRO 88

CAIRO 85

CAIRO 80

CAIRO 87

CAIRO 92

CAIRO 77

CAIRO 78

CAIRO 82

CAIRO 76

CAIRO 84

CAIRO 83

CAIRO 91

CAIRO 90

CAIRO 79

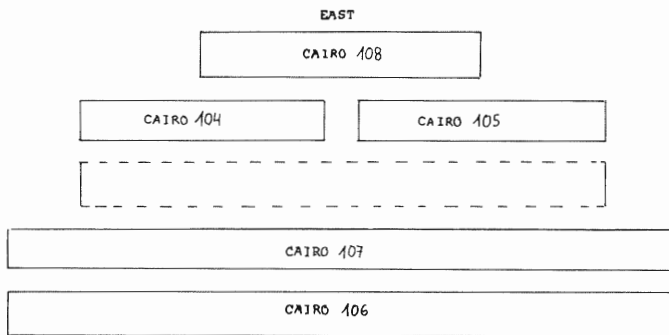
CAIRO 93

CAIRO 89

CAIRO 81

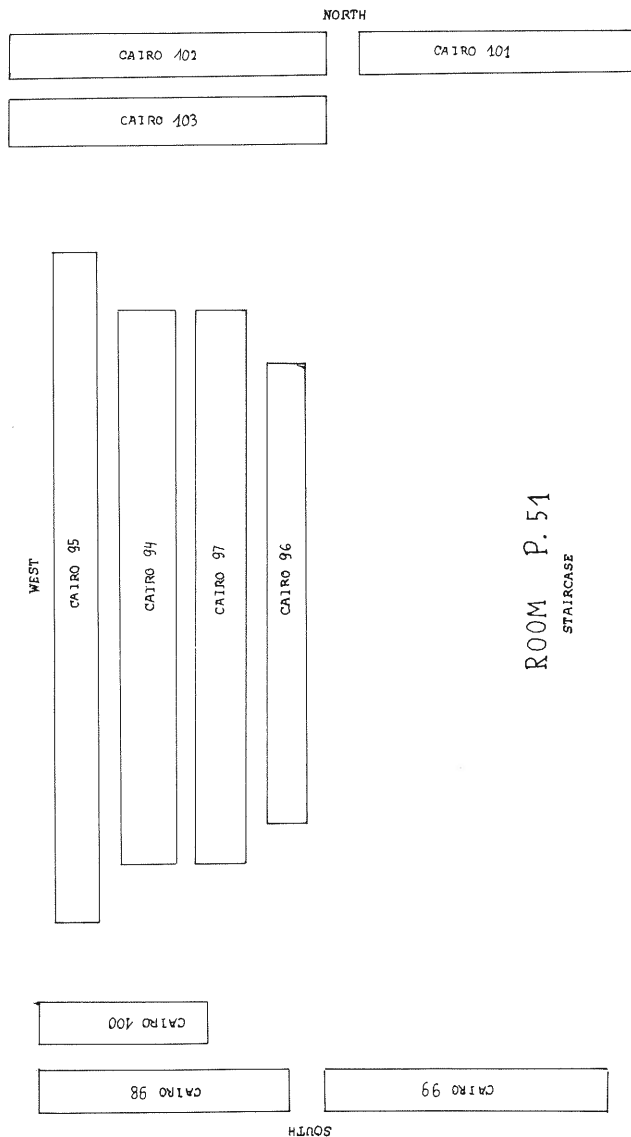
STAIRCASE

TABLE IV  
(CONTINUATION)



ROOM P.57  
STAIRCASE

TABLE IV  
(CONTINUATION)



# T A B L E V

CONCORDANCE OF VARIOUS DESIGNATIONS GIVEN TO SOME PAPYRI  
FROM THE EM, CAIRO, IN PUBLICATIONS WITH THE LIST OF SOURCES

Piankoff and Rambova, Mythological Papyri, New York 1957:

Pap. No 1	= Cairo 91	Pap. No 15	= Cairo 118
Pap. No 2	= Cairo 89	Pap. No 18	= Cairo 77
Pap. No 3	= Cairo 75	Pap. No 19	= Cairo 96
Pap. No 5	= Cairo 10	Pap. No 20	= Cairo 68
Pap. No 6	= Cairo 92	Pap. No 22	= Cairo 95
Pap. No 7	= Cairo 71	Pap. No 25	= Cairo 128
Pap. No 8	= Cairo 115	Pap. No 26	= Cairo 12
Pap. No 10	= Cairo 107	Pap. No 27	= Cairo 28
Pap. No 11	= Cairo 123	Pap. No 28	= Cairo 72

Schott Photo-Archiv (property of the University Trier)

Unpublished papyri:

Pap. "c"	= Cairo 84	Pap. "aa"	= Cairo 43
Pap. "g"	= Cairo 88	Pap. "dd"	= Cairo 44
Pap. "l"	= Cairo 104	Pap. "ee"	= Cairo 90
Pap. "m"	= Cairo 105	Pap. "ff"	= Cairo 45
Pap. "o"	= Cairo 81	Pap. "gg"	= Cairo 25
Pap. "p"	= Cairo 86	Pap. "hh"	= Cairo 42
Pap. "r"	= Cairo 69	Pap. "kk"	= Cairo 117
Pap. "t"	= Cairo 67	Pap. "mm"	= Cairo 124
Pap. "w"	= Cairo 65	Pap. "nn"	= Cairo 125
Pap. "x"	= Cairo 60	Pap. "oo"	= Cairo 121
Pap. "z"	= Cairo 57		

Piankoff, Litany of Re, New York 1964

Pap. of Tjanefer	= Cairo 34
Pap. of Ahaneferamun	= Cairo 42
Pap. of Userhatmes	= Cairo 62

T A B L E V (continuation)

Pap. of Taudjatre = Cairo 122

Naville, Papyrus funéraires de la XXI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, Paris 1912-14

Pap. of Maatkare = Cairo 43

Pap. of Nesikhons = Cairo 109

Pap. of Gatseshen = Cairo 32

Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée Boulaq, Paris 1871-76

Pap. Boulaq 9 = Cairo 87

Pap. Boulaq 22 = Cairo 36

Pap. Boulaq 23 = Cairo 47

Sadek, Contribution à l' étude de l' Amdouat, Freiburg 1985

Pap. C.1 = Cairo 97

Pap. C.18 = Cairo 80

Pap. C.2 = Cairo 29

Pap. C.19 = Cairo 58

Pap. C.3 = Cairo 94

Pap. C.20 = Cairo 103

Pap. C.4 = Cairo 76

Pap. C.21 = Cairo 52

Pap. C.5 = Cairo 17

Pap. C.22 = Cairo 6

Pap. C.6 = Cairo 83

Pap. C.23 = Cairo 102

Pap. C.7 = Cairo 85

Pap. C.24 = Cairo 70

Pap. C.8 = Cairo 66

Pap. C.25 = Cairo 57

Pap. C.9 = Cairo 15

Pap. C.26 = Cairo 73

Pap. C.10 = Cairo 13

Pap. C.27 = Cairo 93

Pap. C.11 = Cairo 101

Pap. C.28 = Cairo 120

Pap. C.12 = Cairo 63

Pap. C.29 = Cairo 78

Pap. C.13 = Cairo 82

Pap. C.30 = Cairo 7

Pap. C.14 = Cairo 64

Pap. C.31 = Cairo 74

Pap. C.15 = Cairo 79

Pap. C.32 = Cairo 23

Pap. C.16 = Cairo 31

Pap. C.33 = Cairo 114

Pap. C.17 = Cairo 87

TABLE VI  
SCHEMES OF VARIOUS TYPES OF THE FORMAL COMPOSITION OF THE PAPYRI

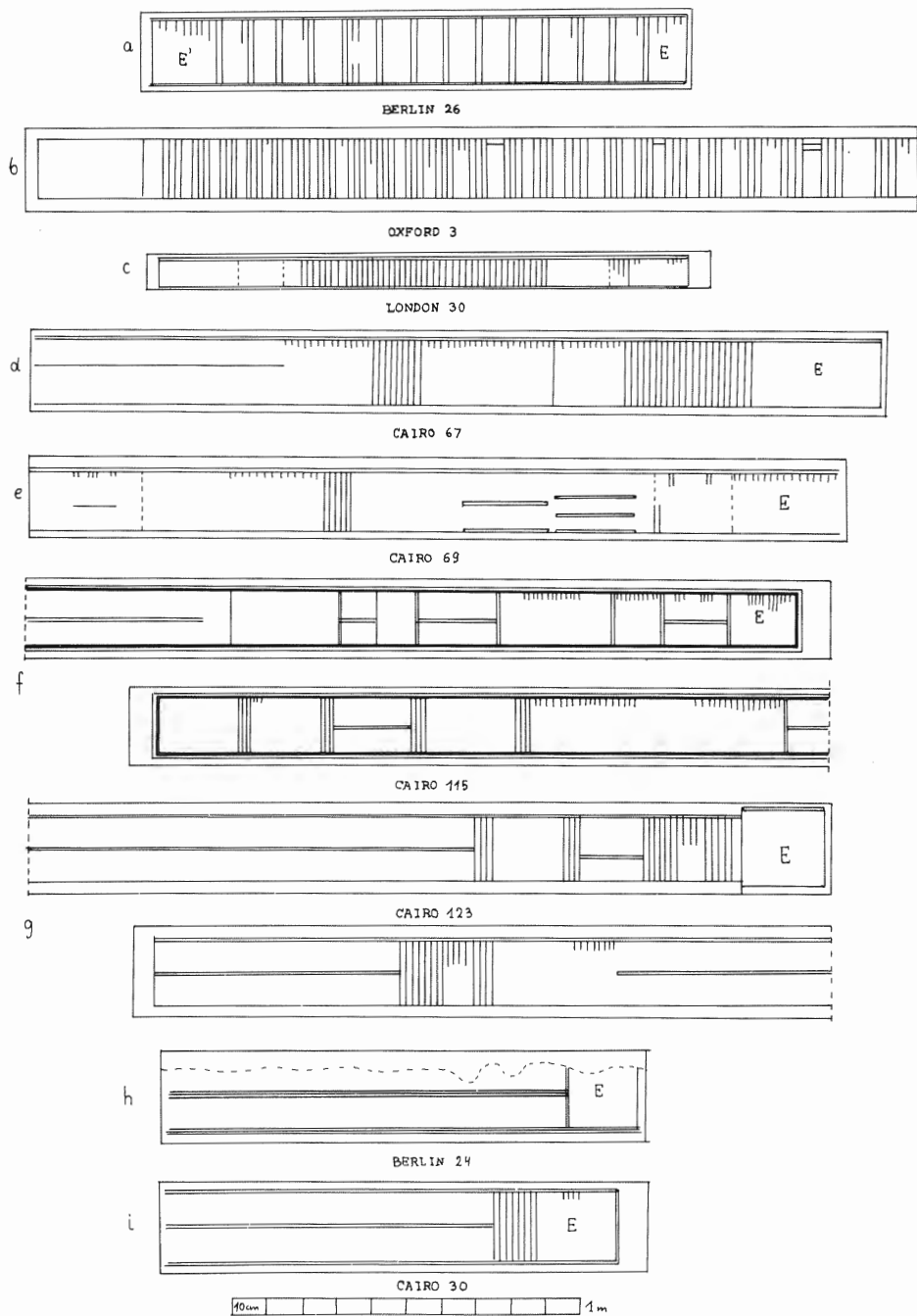


TABLE VIIa








































PALAEOGRAPHIC FORMS OF VARIOUS HIEROGLYPHS IN THE PAPYRI OF THE NEW KINGDOM  
(EXAMPLES FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

18 DYNASTY	PAPYRUS								
	BM 10489								
	BM 9905								
	BM 9900								
	BM 9950								
	BM 10009								
	BM 10471								
	BM 9901								
	BM 9940								
	BM 9955								
RAMESSIDE	BM 10470								

1 cm 10 cm

TABLE VIIb

PALAEOGRAPHIC FORMS OF VARIOUS HIEROGLYPHS IN THE PAPYRI OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE 21st DYNASTY  
(EXAMPLES FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

PAPYRUS								
BM 10010								
BM 10013								
BM 10014	 							
BM 10010								
BM 10472								
BM 10541	 							



















































































1 cm  10 cm



TABLE VIIc

PALAEOGRAPHIC FORMS OF VARIOUS MICROGLYPHS IN THE PAPYRI OF THE LATE 21st/EARLY 22nd DYNASTY  
(EXAMPLES FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

PAPYRUS								
BM 9903								
BM 9904								
BM 9918	 							
BM 9919				 				
BM 9932	 							
BM 9938				 				
BM 9953b								
BM 9992								
BM 10554	 							
BM 10793								


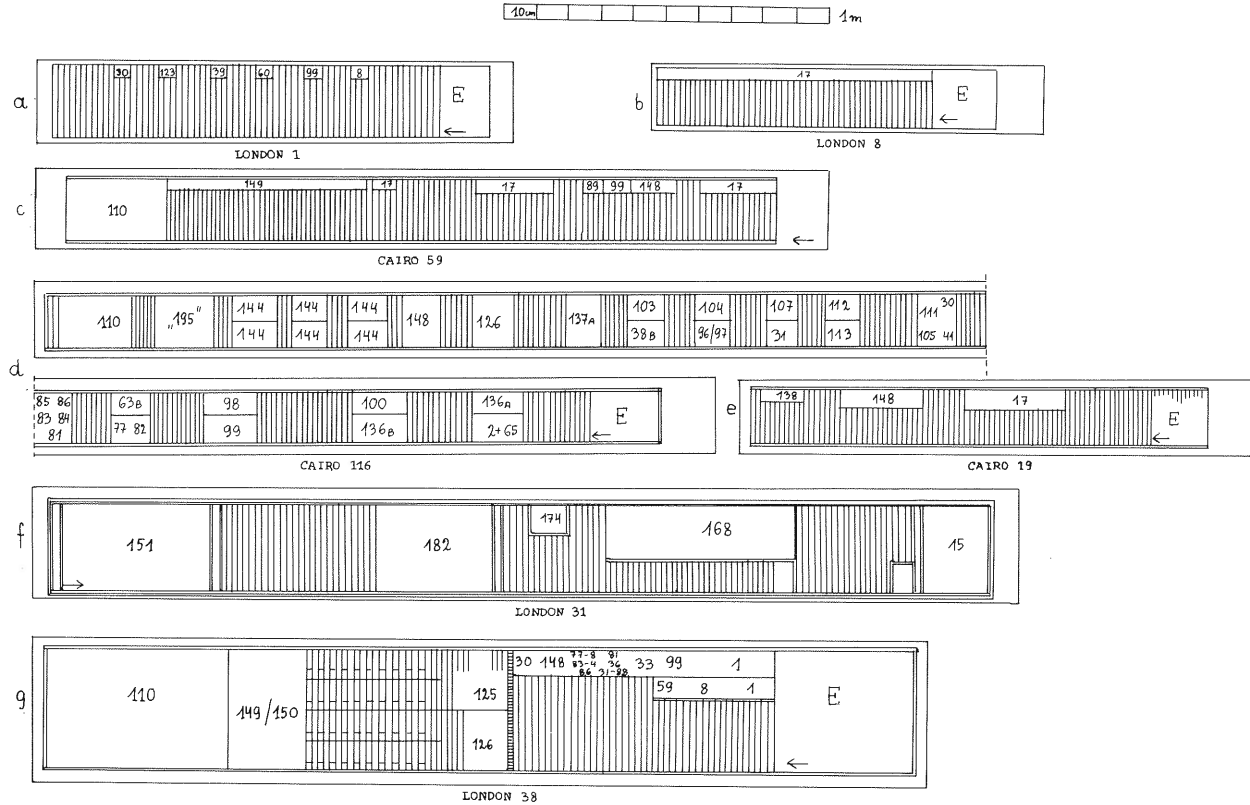
4 cm  10 cm

TABLE VIII

PATTERNS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXTS AND VIGNETTES IN THE PAPYRI OF THE TYPE BD.II.1



# T A B L E IX

## SEQUENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE BD.II.1-papyri

Cairo 36:	(subst.-E) - 93 - 45 - 33 - 31 - 30 - 43 - 27 - 28 - - 23 - 22 - <u>150</u> - <u>125</u> - <u>99</u> - <u>86</u> - <u>77</u> - <u>82</u> - <u>85</u> - - <u>84</u> - <u>83</u>
Cairo 43:	E - <u>151</u> - 6 - <u>1</u> - 79 - 1 - <u>99</u> - 105 - 138 - New - - 123 - <u>144</u> - <u>146</u> - 86 - <u>87</u> - 6 - <u>83</u> - <u>85</u> - <u>82</u> - - <u>77</u> - <u>148</u> - <u>100</u> - <u>125</u> - <u>149</u> - <u>150</u> - <u>110</u>
Cairo 111:	E - <u>23</u> - <u>72</u> - <u>27</u> - <u>30</u> - <u>71</u> - <u>141/3</u> - <u>110</u> - <u>125</u>
Geneva:	1 - <u>148</u> - <u>17</u> - 130 - 81 - 77 - New - New - <u>125</u> - <u>110</u>
Leiden 1 + 1 bis:	E - <u>150</u> - <u>149</u> - <u>146</u> - <u>193</u> - <u>151</u> - "194" - - <u>125</u> - "195" - <u>89</u> - <u>153</u> - <u>148</u> - <u>110</u> - <u>99</u> - - <u>100</u> - <u>141/3</u> - <u>64</u> - <u>71</u> - <u>2</u> - <u>3</u> - <u>81</u> - <u>80</u> - - <u>84</u> - <u>83</u> - <u>85</u> - <u>82</u> - <u>78</u> - <u>77</u> - <u>88</u> - <u>87</u> - - <u>86</u> - <u>109</u> - <u>108</u> - <u>15</u> - <u>93</u> - <u>35</u> - <u>32</u> - - <u>31</u> - <u>45</u>
London 1:	E - 1 - <u>8</u> - 44 - <u>63/71</u> - <u>99</u> - <u>60</u> - 33 - <u>35</u> - <u>123</u> - - <u>26/27</u> - <u>30</u>
London 35:	E - 9 - 181 - <u>148</u> - <u>138</u> - 57 - <u>147/144</u> - <u>89</u> - 53 - <u>125</u> - <u>149</u> - <u>150</u> - <u>110</u>
London 38:	E - <u>1</u> - 13 - <u>8</u> - <u>59/60</u> - <u>99</u> - New - <u>33</u> - 56 - <u>81</u> - - <u>36</u> - <u>31/32</u> - <u>88</u> - <u>77/78</u> - <u>83/84</u> - <u>86</u> - <u>82</u> - <u>89</u> - - <u>138</u> - <u>148</u> - 141 - <u>30</u> - <u>125/126</u> - <u>149/150</u> - <u>110</u>
London 60 + Paris 47	: <u>15</u> - <u>125</u> - 101 - <u>100</u> - <u>15</u> - <u>1</u> - <u>17</u> - 18 - 24 - - <u>153</u> - <u>89</u> - <u>71</u> - <u>130</u> - <u>83</u> - <u>84</u> - <u>110</u> - 134 - - <u>136</u> - 2 - 3 - 132 - <u>141/3</u> - <u>63</u> - 106 - <u>79</u> - - 102 - <u>136</u> - <u>149</u> - <u>150</u> - <u>125</u> - <u>146</u> - <u>148</u> - E
Paris 4:	E - 17 - 18 - 1 - 68 - <u>89</u> - <u>92</u> - <u>63</u> - <u>105</u> - <u>42</u> - <u>26</u> - - <u>30</u> - <u>22</u> - 5 - 67 - <u>61</u> - <u>79</u> - <u>125</u> - <u>110</u> - <u>149</u> - <u>15</u>
Paris 12:	E - 94 - 71 - <u>110</u> - 72 - 125 - <u>108</u> - <u>109</u> - <u>126</u> - - 151 - 89
Paris 48:	E - <u>125</u> - 35 - 44 - New - 77 - 109 - <u>110</u>

### Legend:

E - etiquette

(subst.-E) - substitute-etiquette

67 - BD-chapter in textual redaction only

79 - BD-chapter illustrated (with or without text)

OCCURRENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE BD. II.1-PAPYRI

BD-CHAPTERS		73 48 49 10 11 16																																																																										
PAPYRUS		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75																																																																										
CAIRO 36																									x	x											x	x																																						
CAIRO 43												(x)																																																																
* CAIRO 46																																																																												
* CAIRO 59																		(x)																																																										
* CAIRO 90																														(x)																	(x)																													
CAIRO 111																						(x)									(x)											(x)	(x)																																	
* CAIRO 116		(x)															(x)	(x)	(x)											(x)																																														
GENEVA	x															(x)																					(x)																																							
LEIDEN 1+1bis	(x)															(x)											(x)	(x)											(x)	(x)																																				
LEIDEN 2																																																																												
LONDON 1	x									(x)																	x	x	(x)	(x)											x		x																																	
LONDON 35												x																																									x	(x)																						
LONDON 38	(x)									(x)											x											(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)																																									
LONDON 60	(x) x x															(x)	(x)	x											x											(x)	(x)																																			
PARIS 4	x									(x)											(x)	x	(x)	(x)											(x)	(x)																																								
PARIS 12																																																																												
PARIS 48																																		x																	x																									
* not complete data																																																																												
BD-CHAPTERS		73 48 49 10 11 16																																																																										
		LEGEND : x = text only (x) = text illustrated (x) = vignette only																																																																										

(CONTINUATION)

25719 49

(CONTINUATION)

BD-C CHAPTERS	
PAPYRUS	161 162 169 171 173 175 177 179 181 183 185 187 189 193 195" 160 166 168 170 172 174 176 178 180 182 184 186 188 190 194" others
CAIRO 36	
CAIRO 43	X
* CAIRO 46	
* CAIRO 59	
* CAIRO 90	X
CAIRO 111	
* CAIRO 116	X
GENEVA	X X
LEIDEN 1 + 165	X X X X
LEIDEN 2	
LONDON 1	
LONDON 35	X
LONDON 38	X
LONDON 60	
PARIS 4	
PARIS 12	
PARIS 48	X
	161 167 169 171 173 175 177 179 181 183 185 187 189 193 195" 160 166 168 170 172 174 176 178 180 182 184 186 188 190 194" others
BD-CHAPTERS	

TABLE Xb

OCCURRENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE BD.II.2-PAPYRI

	BD-CHAPTERS 73 48 49 100 121 16																																																																										
PAPYRUS	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	17	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	37	39	41	43	45	47	51	53	55	57	59	61	63	65	67	69	71	74																																									
	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	18	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	50	52	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	75																																								
CAIRO 32	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	X	X	(X)	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																																								
CAIRO 44	(X)								X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)			(X)		(X)								(X)	(X)																																													
* CAIRO 61														(X)														(X)																																															
CAIRO 109	X	(X)	X	X	X		X		X					(X)				(X)		(X)					(X)					(X)	(X)																																												
LONDON 2	X			X		X			X					(X)													X		(X)																																														
LONDON 49	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)		X	X	X																																									
* PARIS 5														(X)	(X)			(X)												(X)	(X)																																												
* PARIS 44	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																																									
* not complete data	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
	BD-CHAPTERS 73 48 49 100 121 16																																																																										
	LEGEND : x = text only (X) = text illustrated (X) = vignette only																																																																										

LEGEND : x = text only (X) = text illustrated [X] = vignette only

(CONTINUATION)

[illegible]

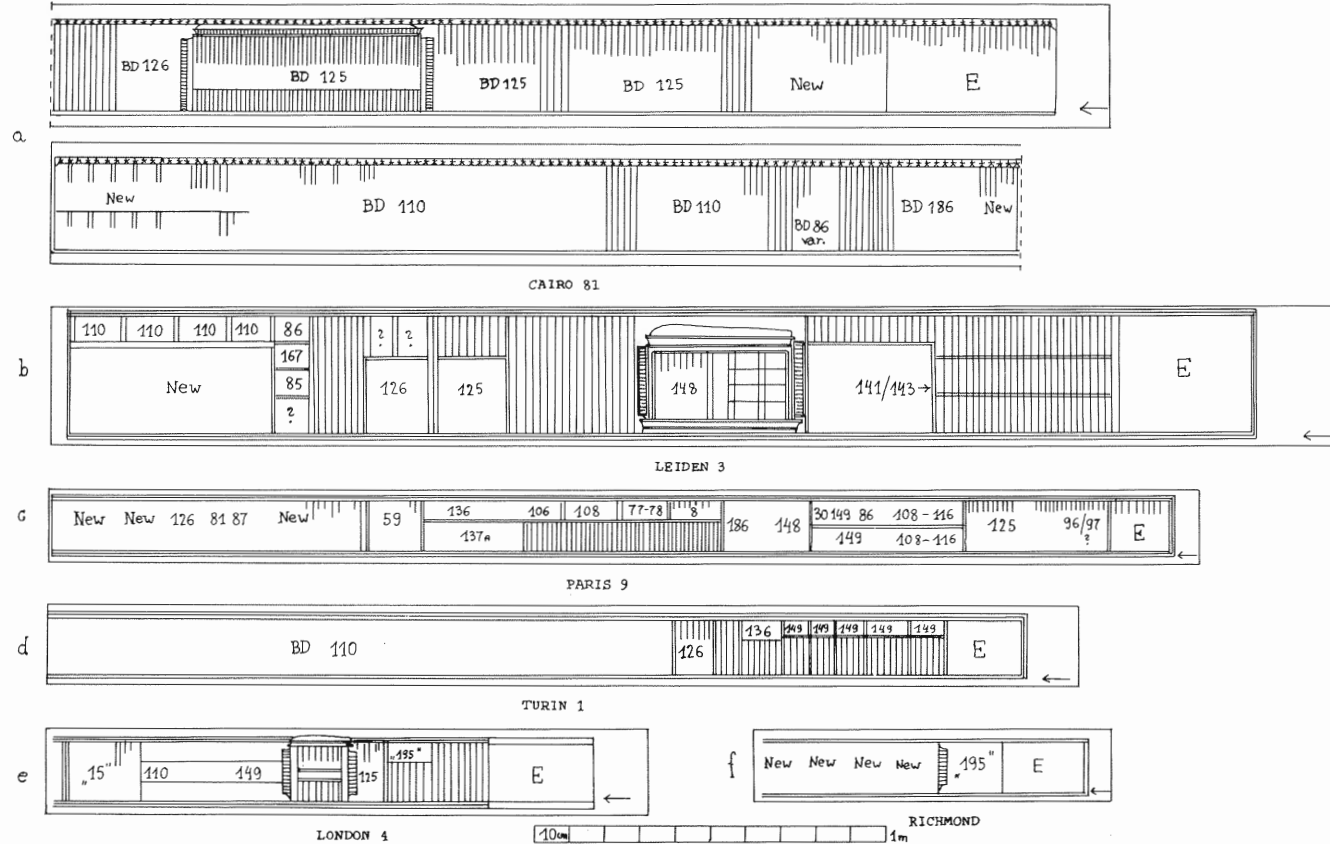


TABLE Xb  
(CONTINUATION)

BD-CHAPTERS		161	167	168	174	173	175	177	179	181	183	185	187	189	193	195"	
PAPYRUS		160	166	168	170	172	174	176	178	180	182	184	186	188	190	194"	others
CAIRO 32									x	x	x	x		x		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
CAIRO 44									x							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
* CAIRO 61																	
CAIRO 409																	
LONDON 2																	
LONDON 49									x	x	x	x		x		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x
* PARIS 5																	
* PARIS 44																	
		161	167	168	174	173	175	177	179	181	183	185	187	189	193	195"	
		160	166	168	170	172	174	176	178	180	182	184	186	188	190	194"	others
BD-CHAPTERS																	

TABLE XI

PATTERNS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXTS AND VIGNETTES IN THE BD.III.1a-PAPYRI



# T A B L E XII

## CONTENTS AND SEQUENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE PAPYRI OF TYPE BD.III.1a

- Cairo 20: E + solar motive - "195" - 125
- Cairo 21: E + motive 125 -address to the deities of the Dat
- Cairo 45: E - "194" - 125 - 126 - "195" - 110
- Cairo 67: E + solar motive - 130 - "195" - 125 - "15" -  
- "194" (Heb-sed) - 149 - 110
- Cairo 81: E - New - "15" - 125 - 126 - New - 186 - 86 - 110
- Cairo 86: (subst.-E) - 145 - 125 - 110 - 125/126/30B - 186
- Cairo 91: E - "195" - "15" - New - 110
- Cairo 118: E - New - 125 - 8 - 77+78 - 108/116 - 106 - 17 -  
- 86 - 144/147 - 125 - 110 - 126 - 110
- Cairo 37: E - 130 - "195" - 125
- Cairo 125: E + solar motive - 130 - "195" - 125 - 149 - 77 -  
- 81 - 110
- Cairo 126: E - 125 (an echo) - New - 145/146
- Cambridge: (subst.-E) - 125 + Litany of Re-motives - New -  
- New - 110 var. - New
- Dresden: ... - 168 -address to Osiris - New - 125
- Chicago 1: E + solar motive - 130 - "195" - 125 - 110 - 109 -  
- 149 - New - New
- Havana: ... - 168 - "195" - New - 148 - "194" - 108/116 -  
- 110 - 59 - 90 - 186
- Leiden 3: E - 141/3 - 148 - 126 - New - 86 - 155(?) - 110-New
- London 4: E - 130 - "195" - 125 - 149 - 110 - "15"
- London 6 (fragment): - 126 - 145 - "195"
- London 25: E - 125 - 126 - 110
- London 30: (subst.-E) - 125 - 149 - New - 138(?) - 125 - New
- London 34: 125 - New - 100
- London 58: (subst.-E) - "15" - 145 - 125 - 110 - 125 - New -  
- New (Book of the Gates, final scene)
- Luxor 1: E - "15" - New - 182 - "15"
- New York 13: (subst.-E) - texts and vignettes to the follo-  
wing BD-chapters: 125, 38, 75, 113, 152, 132,  
94, 71, 72, 105  
vignettes only: New - 149 - 108 - 86 - 85 -  
- 109 - New - 83 - "15" - 95/97 - 126 - 110 -  
- 115 - address to Osiris - E

# T A B L E XII (continuation)

Paris 3: E + solar motive - 130 - 125 - 149 - 110

Paris 9: E - New - 125 - 108/116 - 86 - 149 - 30 - 148 -  
- 186 - 8 - 77/78 - New - 106 - 110 - 136 - 137A -  
- 59 - New - 87 - 81 - 126 - New - New

Paris 38: E - "15" - 125 + 30B - New - New - "15" - 150 -  
- New - New - "15" - 125

Paris 49: E - New - 38 - 23 - 61 - 138 - New - New - 81A -  
- 85 - 83 - 77 - 103 - "194" - New

Richmond: E - "195" - New - New - New

Turin 1: E - 149 - 136 - 126 - 110

Turin 4: E - New - 125 - 110 - 126 - 125 - 8 - 77/78 - 108/116

Zagreb 3: ... - 125 - "15" - 148

## Legend:

E - etiquette

subst.-E - substitut-etiquette

125 - the BD-chapter illustrated

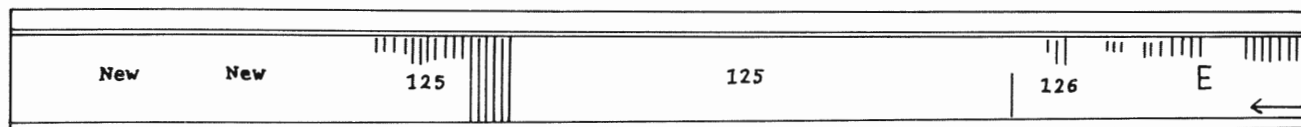
"15" - various solar scenes

SYNOPTIC COMPARISON OF THE VERSIONS OF THE SAME TEXT  
(THE RUBRIC OF THE BD 130) FROM VARIOUS 21st DYN. PAPYRI

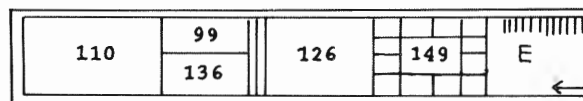
[illegible]

T A B L E X I V a

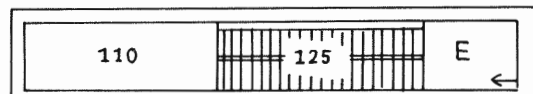
PATTERNS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF TEXTS AND VIGNETTES IN THE PAPYRI  
OF THE TYPE BD.III.1b



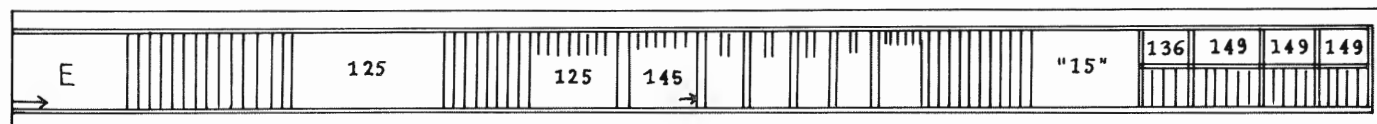
CAIRO 69



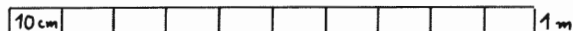
CAIRO 105



loc. unkn. 4



CAIRO 124



T A B L E   X I V b

SEQUENCE OF THE BD-CHAPTERS IN THE PAPYRI OF THE TYPE  
BD.III.1b

Cairo 11: E - 125/126

Cairo 48: E - 125 - 110

Cairo 60: E - New - "15" - 125 - 126 - 110 - 86 - 149 -  
- 59 - "195"

Cairo 65: E - 186 - "194" - 125 - New - 110

Cairo 69: E - 126 - 125 - New - New

Cairo 77: E - 125 - 60(?) - 110 - 126 - 99 - 86 - 125 - New

Cairo 99: E - 146

Cairo 105: E - 149 - 126 - 99 - 136 - 110

Cairo 124: E - 27 - 30 - 125 - New - 145 - "15" - 149/136

Cleveland 2: (subst. E) - 161 - 145 - New

Paris 11: E - New - 148 - New - New

loc. unkn. 4: E - 125 - 149 - 110

Vienna 2: 151 - 125 - 126 - New - 110 - 125

Legend:

E - etiquette

149 - the BD-chapter 149 illustrated (usually vignette only)

T A B L E XVa

REGISTER OF THE POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF  
PAPYRI OCCURRING IN FUNERARY ENSEMBLES

BD.I.1 + A.III.2a

Paris 2 + Paris 6

BD.II.1 + A.II.1a

Cairo 19 + Cairo 17

BD.I.2 + A.II.1a (+ U)

Cairo 34 + Cairo 110

Cairo 38 + Cairo 13

Cairo 41 + Cairo 5

London 63 + Cairo 114 + Cairo C

London A + Paris 20

loc. unkn. 1 + Cairo 83 + loc. unkn. 7

BD.II.1 + A.II.1b (+ U)

Cairo 51 + Cairo 58 + Cairo G

Cairo 98 + Cairo 82

Cairo 99 + Cairo 80

Cairo 116 + Cairo 121

BD.I.2 + A.II.1b

Cairo 49 + Cairo 64

Paris 14 + Paris 40

Paris 35 + London 10

BD.II.1 + A.II.3

Leiden 2 + Berlin 1

BD.II.1 + A.III.1b

Paris 12 + Vienna 1

BD.I.2 + A.II.2a

Leningrad 4 + Leningrad 5

BD.II.1 + A.III.2a

Cairo 9 + Cairo 12

BD.I.2 + A.II.2b

Cairo 40 + Cairo 93

BD.II.1 + A.III.2b

London 60 + London 59

BD.I.2 + A.III.1b

Cairo 39 + Cairo 92

Cairo 35 + Cairo 128

BD.II.2 + A.II.1a (+ U)

Cairo 32 + Cairo 94

Cairo 14 + Cairo 15 +

+ Cairo I + Cairo J

BD.I.2 + A.III.2a

Cairo 27 + Cairo 28

London 42 + London 27

New York 9 + New York 8

Paris 27 + Paris 26

Paris 34 + Paris 33

BD.II.2 + A.II.2a

Paris 15 + Paris 16

BD.II.2 + A.III.1b

Cairo 44 + Cairo 107

BD.II.1 + A.I.1

Cairo 36 + Cairo 47

Berlin 4 + Oxford 3



T A B L E XVa (continuation)

BD.II.2 + U

Cairo 61 + Cairo H  
Cairo 109 + Cairo A

BD.III.1a + A.I.1

Cairo 81 + Cairo 33  
Cairo 86 + Cairo 62  
Cairo 118 + Cairo 122  
Leiden 3 + Paris 8  
London 25 + London 28  
New York 13 + New York 14

BD.III.1a + A.II.1a (+ U)

Cairo 125 + Cairo 66 + Cairo D  
Chicago 1 + Cairo 76  
Luxor 1 + Cairo 56

BD.III.1a + A.III.1a

Cairo 67 + Cairo 117  
Paris 3 + Berlin 18

BD.III.1a + A.III.1b

Cairo 21 + Cairo 119  
Cambridge + London 5  
London 30 + London 24  
Paris 38 + Paris 39  
Paris 49 + Paris 1

BD.III.1a + A.III.2a

Cairo 45 + Cairo 68  
Cairo 91 + Cairo 89  
Richmond + London 36

BD.III.1b + A.II.1b

Cairo 11 + Cairo 50  
Cairo 124 + Cairo 70

BD.III.1b + A.II.2a

Cairo 105 + Cairo 103

BD.III.1b + A.II.2b

Cairo 60 + Cairo 57

BD.III.1b + A.III.1b

loc. unkn. 3 + New York 10

BD.III.1b + A.III.2a

Cairo 65 + Cairo 7

A.I.2 + A.III.1a

Warsaw + Berlin 19

A.III.1b + A.II.3

Cairo 95 + Cairo 120

A.III.1b + A.III.1b

Berlin 23 + London 7  
Cairo 8 + Cairo 16

A.III.1b + A.III.1a (+ U)

Cairo 71 + Cairo 88 +  
+ Cairo B

A.II.1a + U

Cairo 112 + loc. unkn.

A.III.1a + U

London 29 + Berlin A

T A B L E X V b

COMBINATIONS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF PAPYRI IN FUNERARY ENSEMBLES

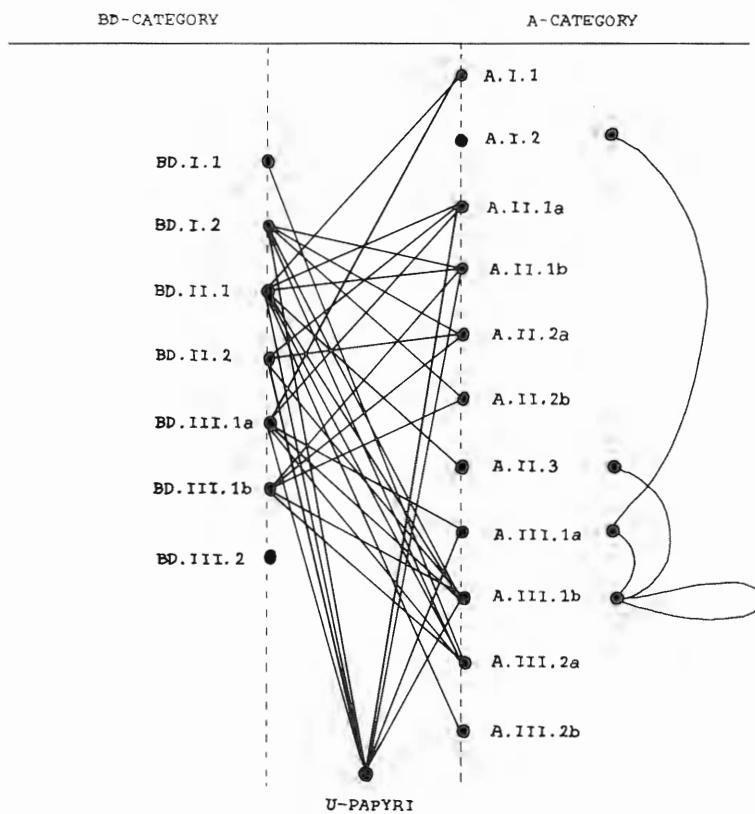
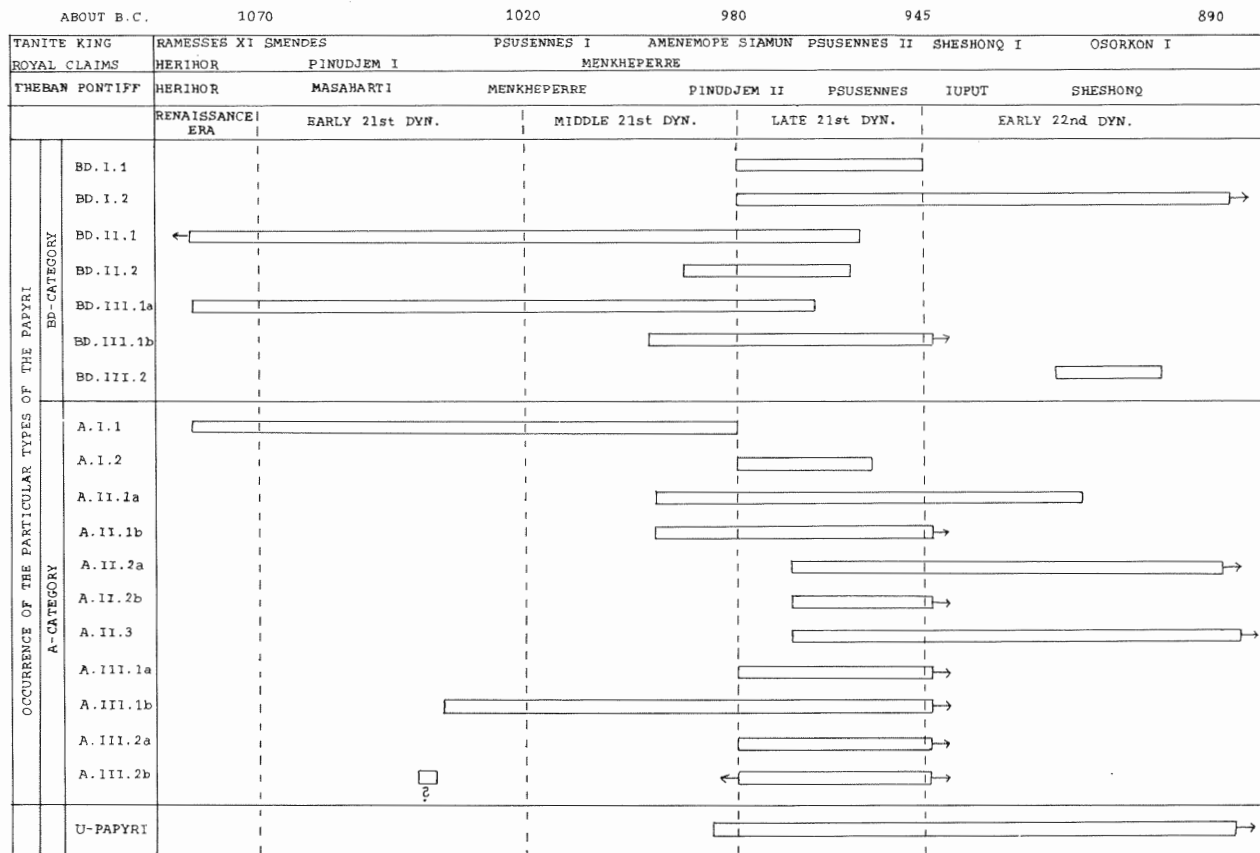


TABLE XVI

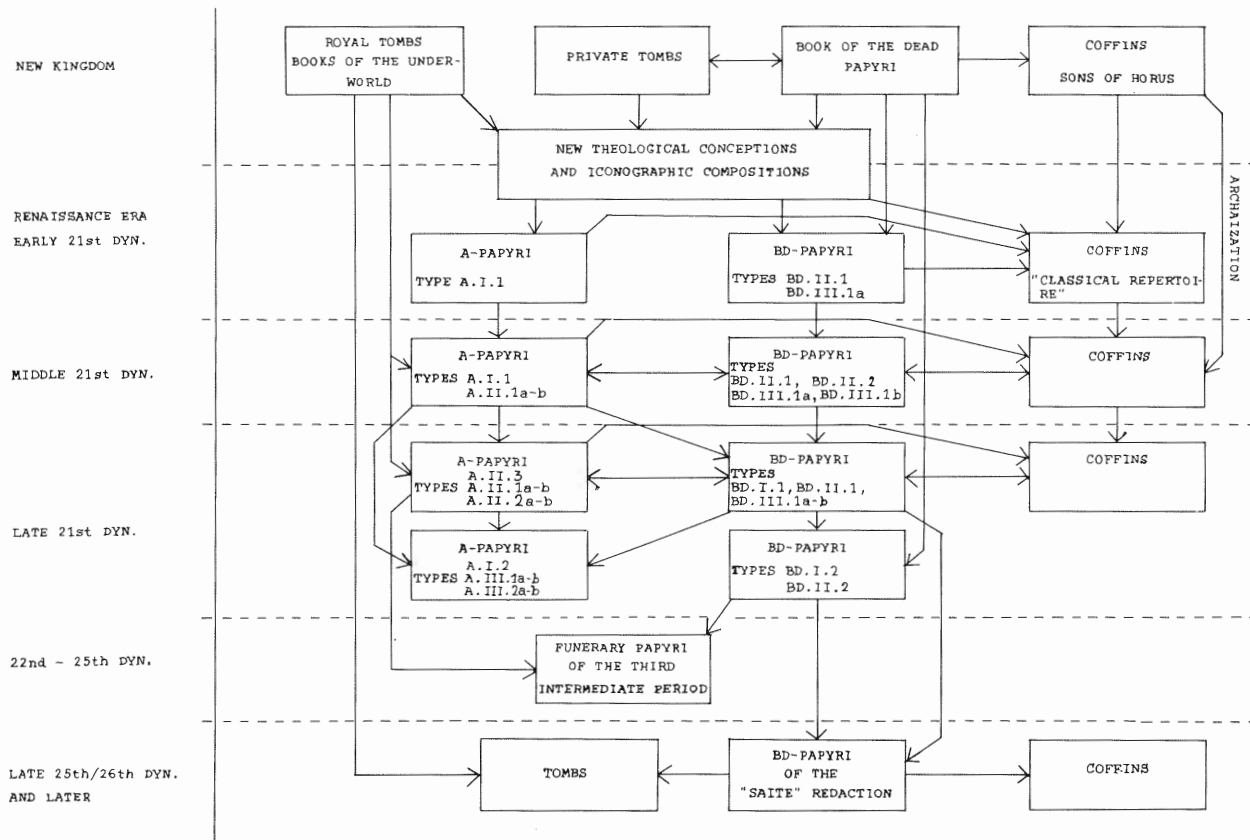
SCHEME OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL OCCURRENCE OF VARIOUS TYPES OF PAPYRI IN THE 11th - 10th CENTURIES B.C.



\* This table presents only approximate and fragmentary chronological information

TABLE  
XVII

SCHEME OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF FUNERARY ENSEMBLES IN THEBES AFTER THE NEW KINGDOM AND INTERDEPENDENCY BETWEEN  
THEIR PARTICULAR ELEMENTS







# PLATES

PLATE 1a-b

a



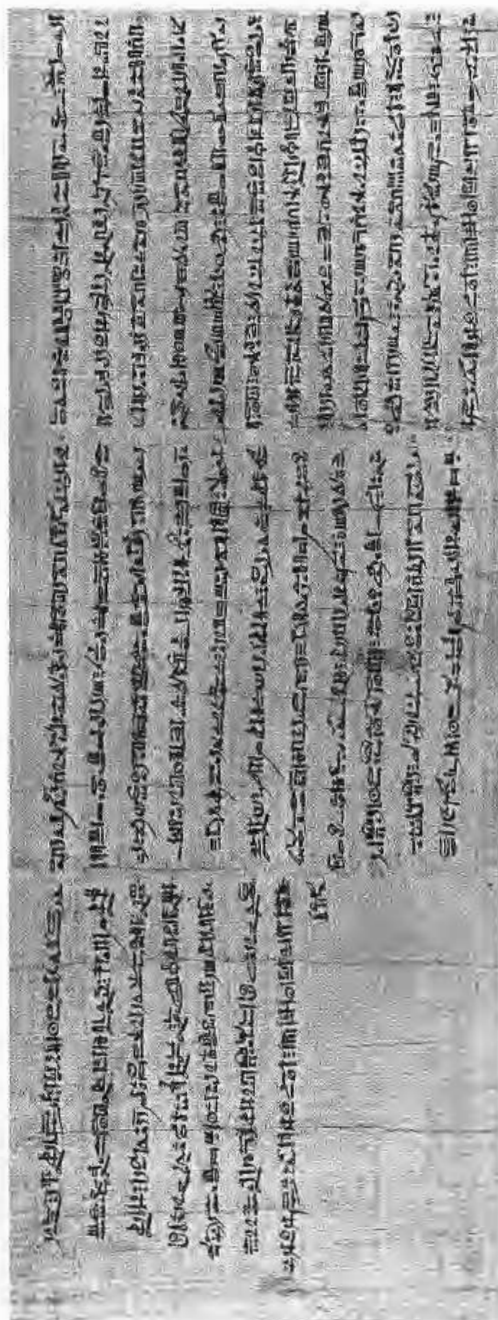
b







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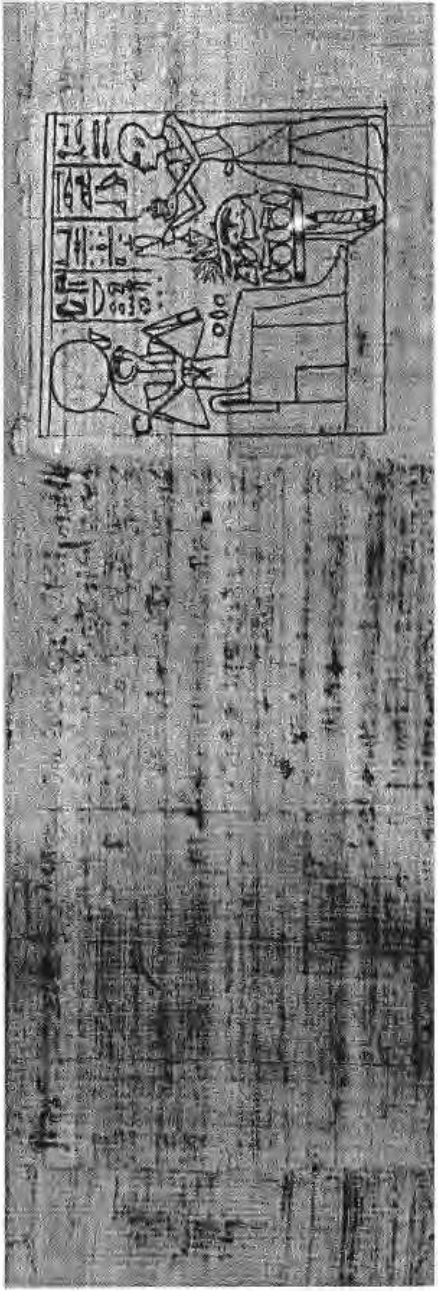
b







a



b

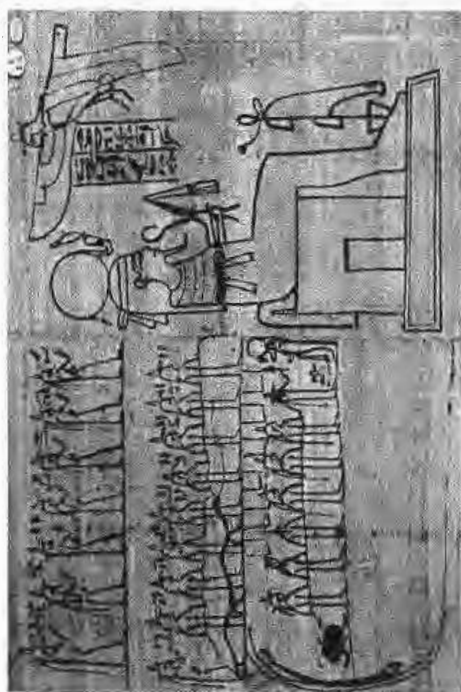




a



b



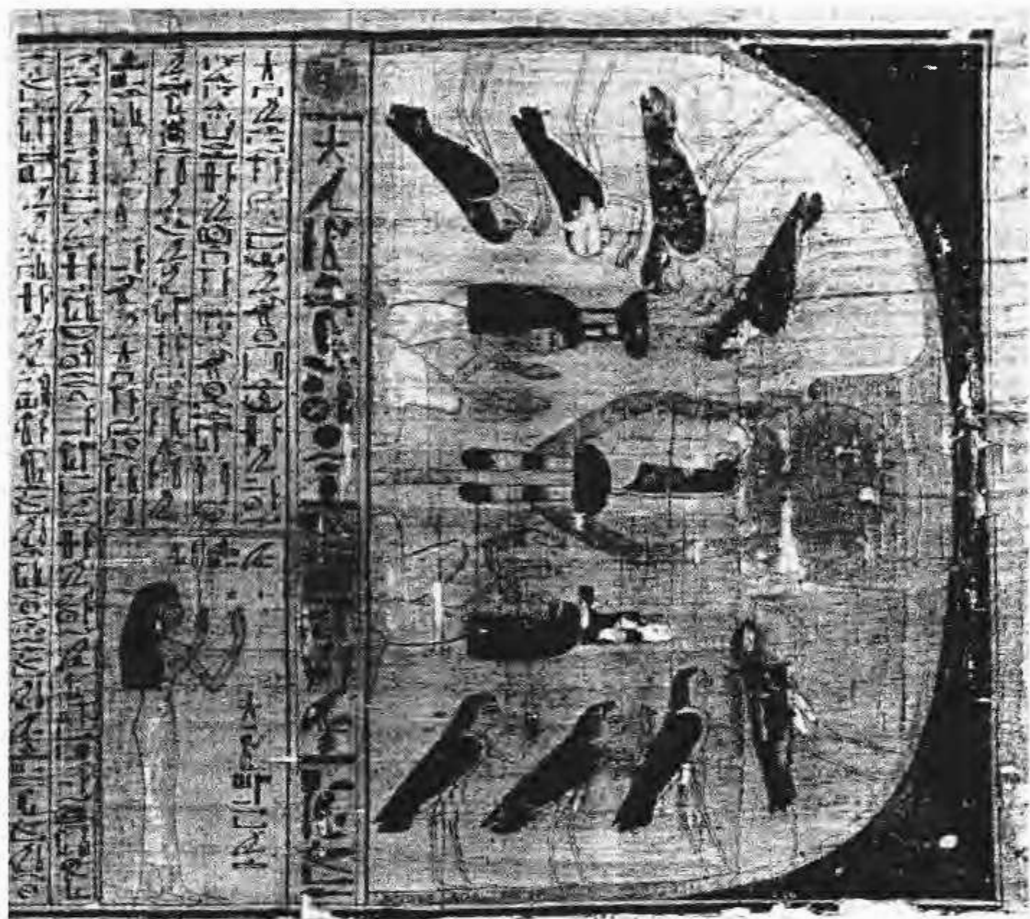
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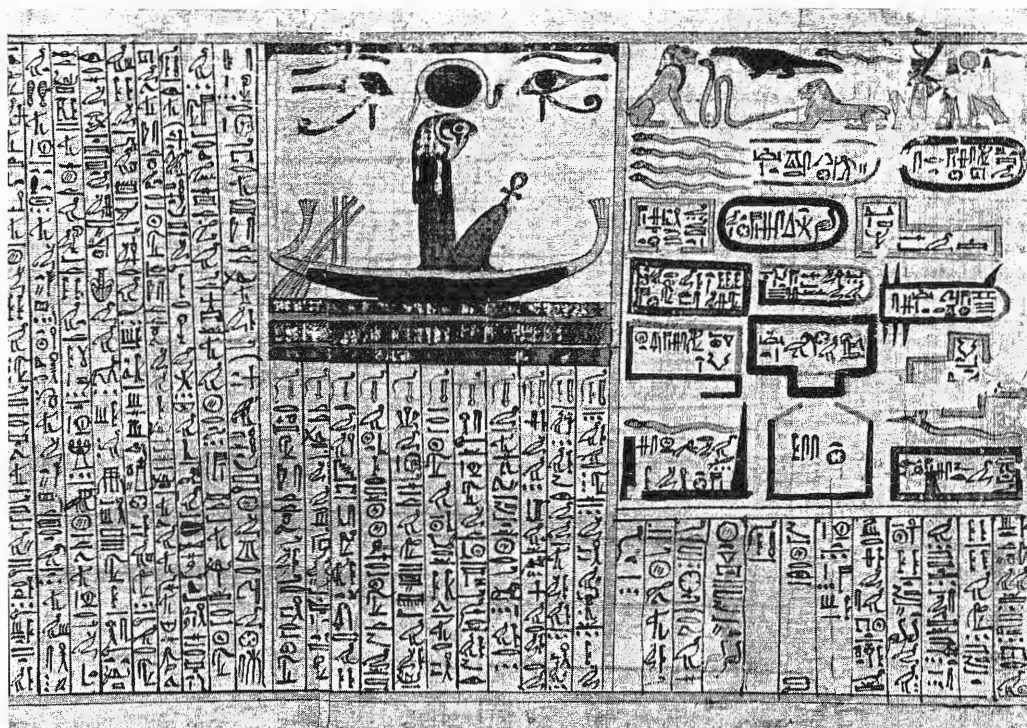
PLATE 7a



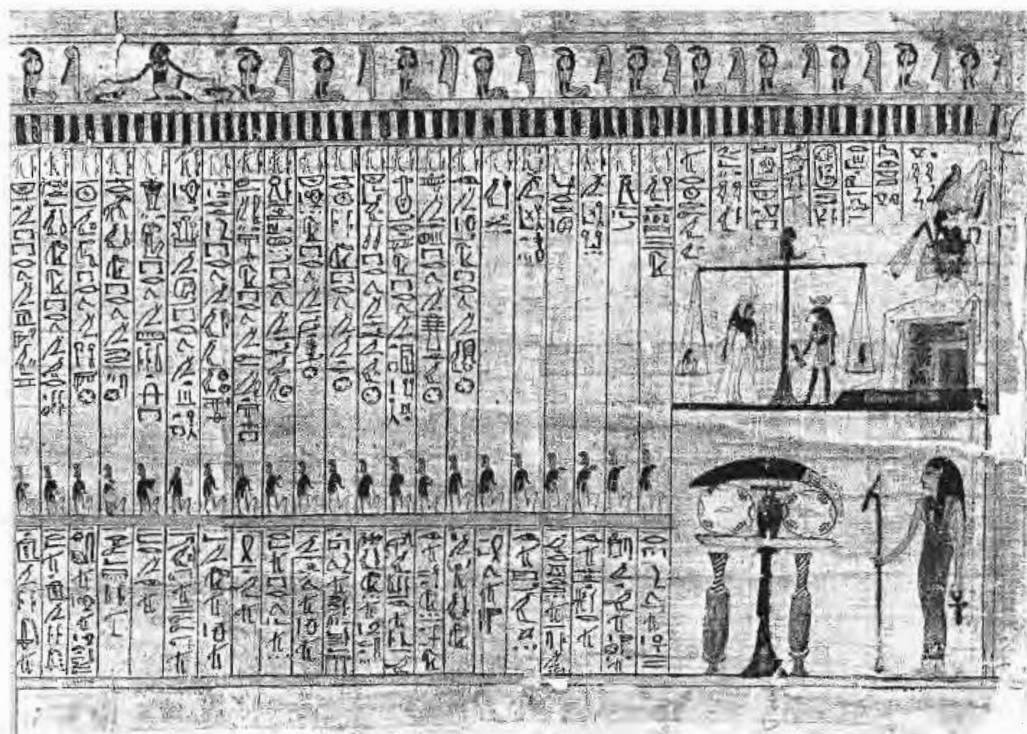






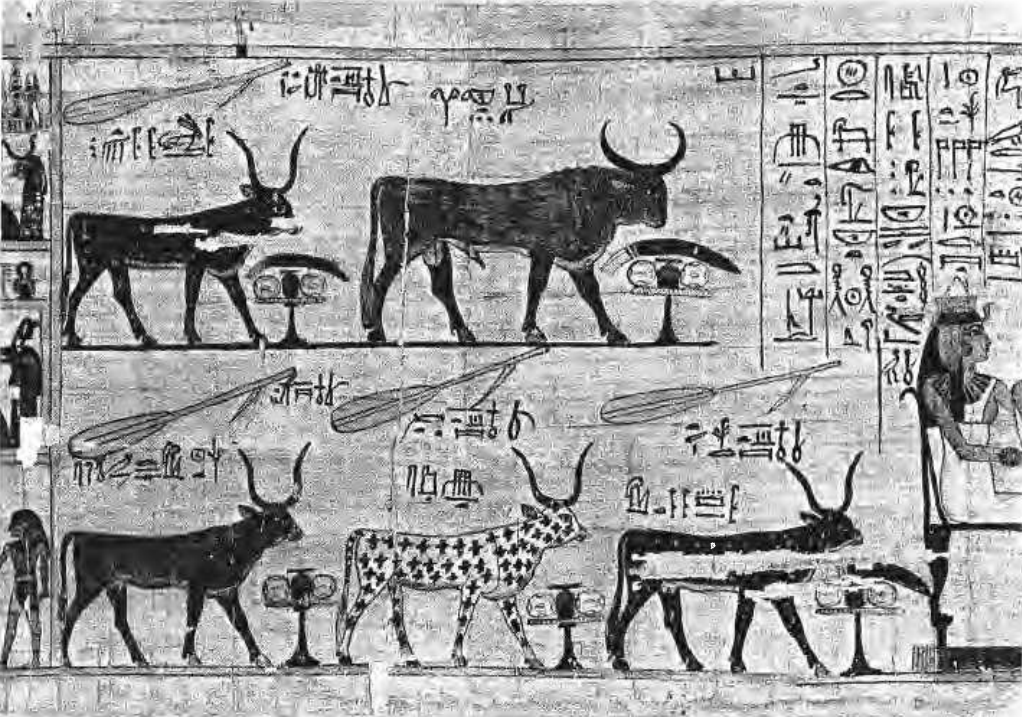


a

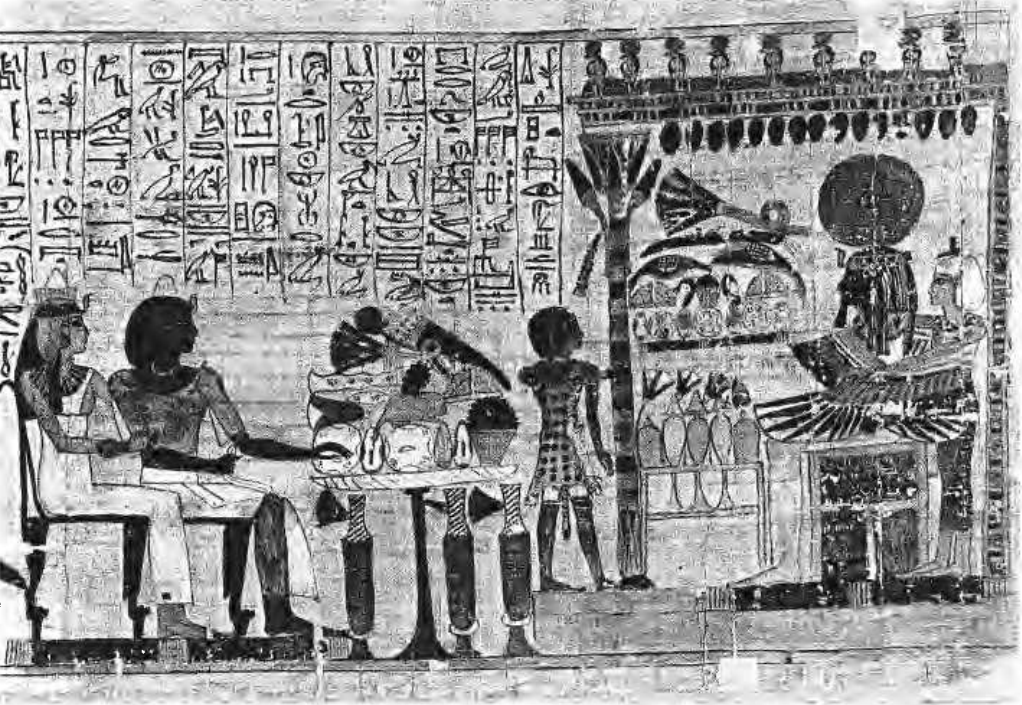


b

a



b





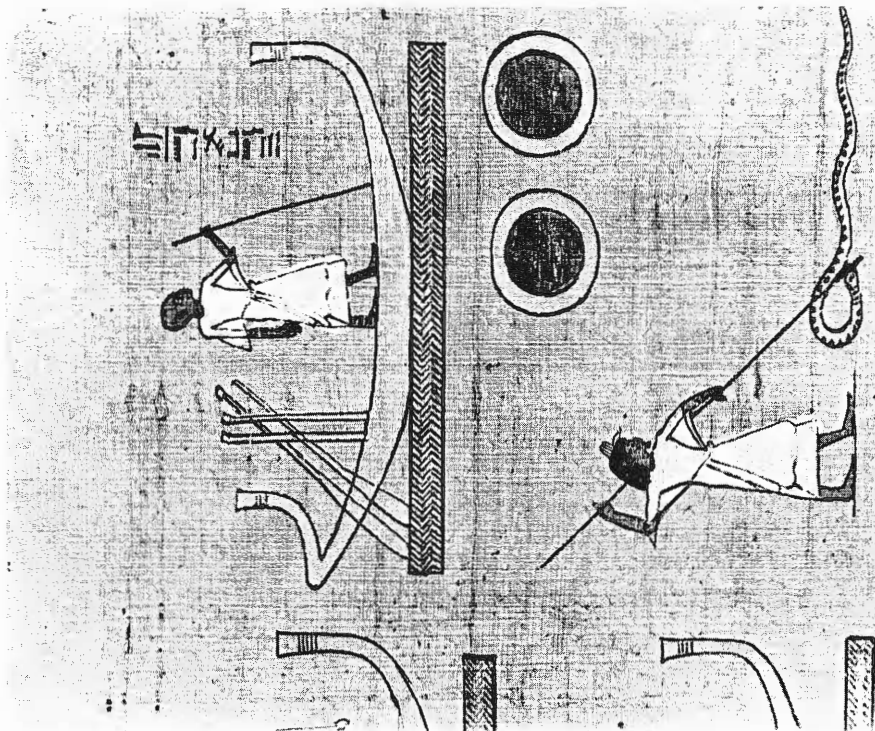


a

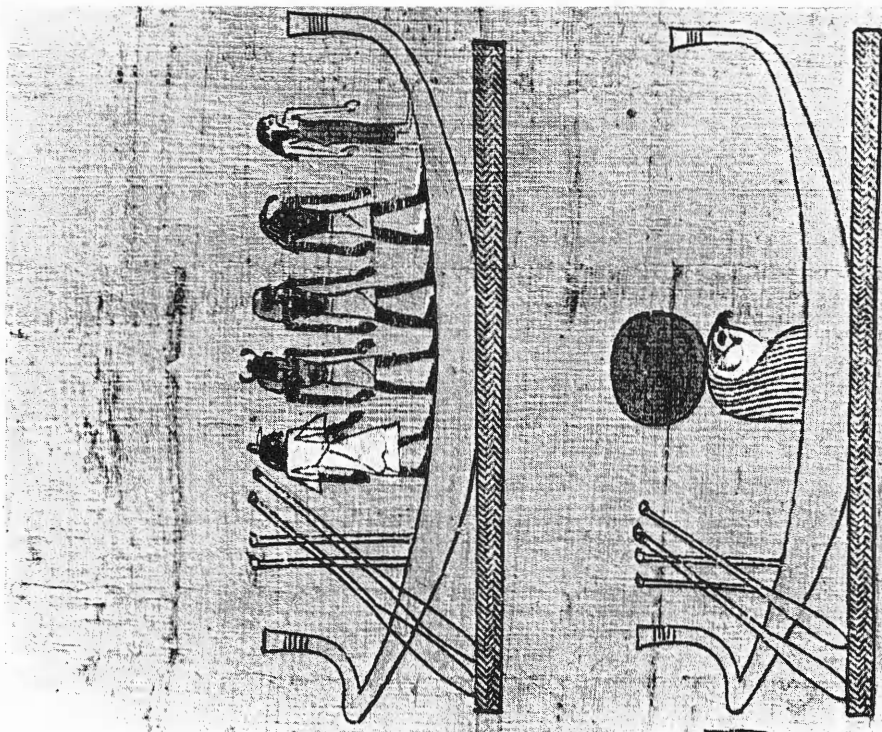


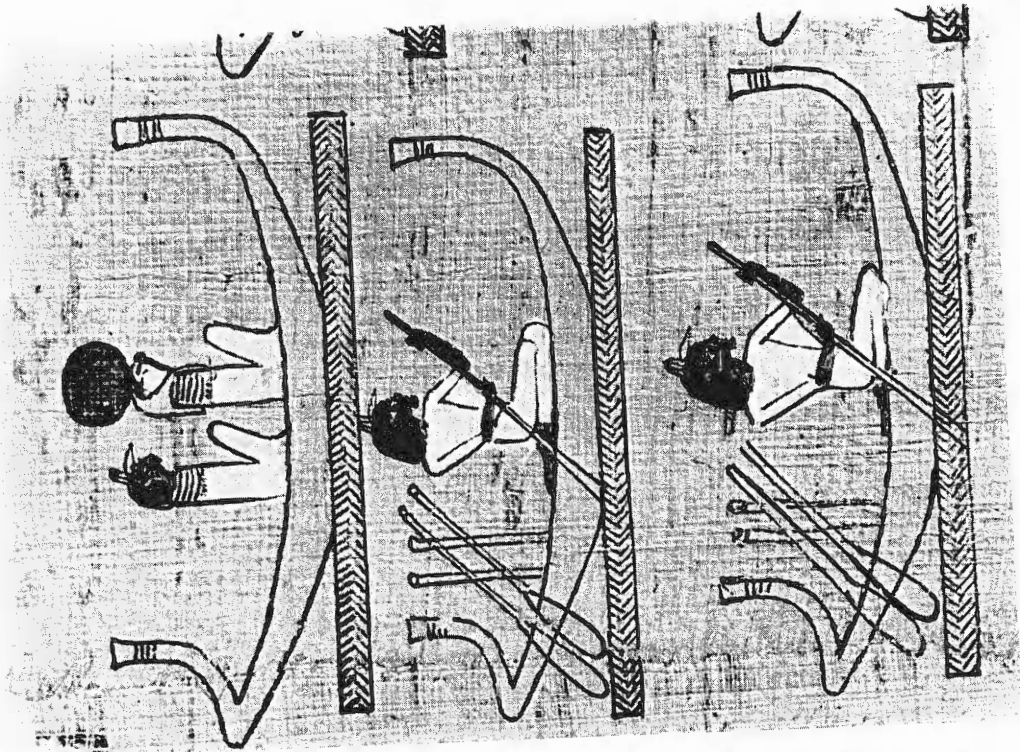
b

a

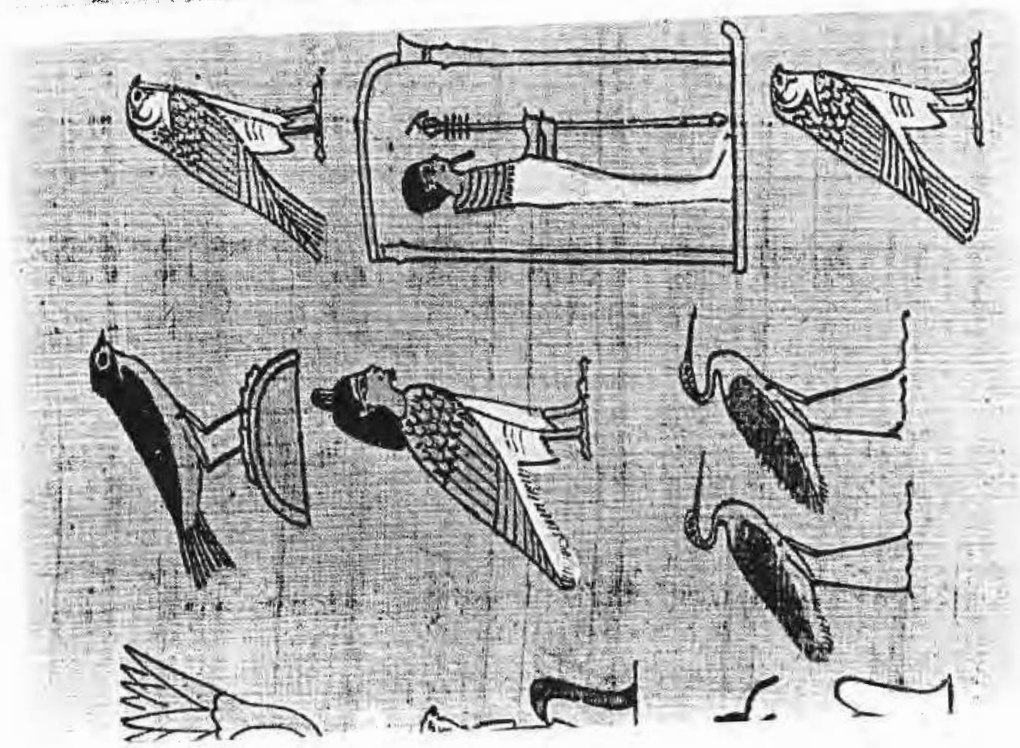


b

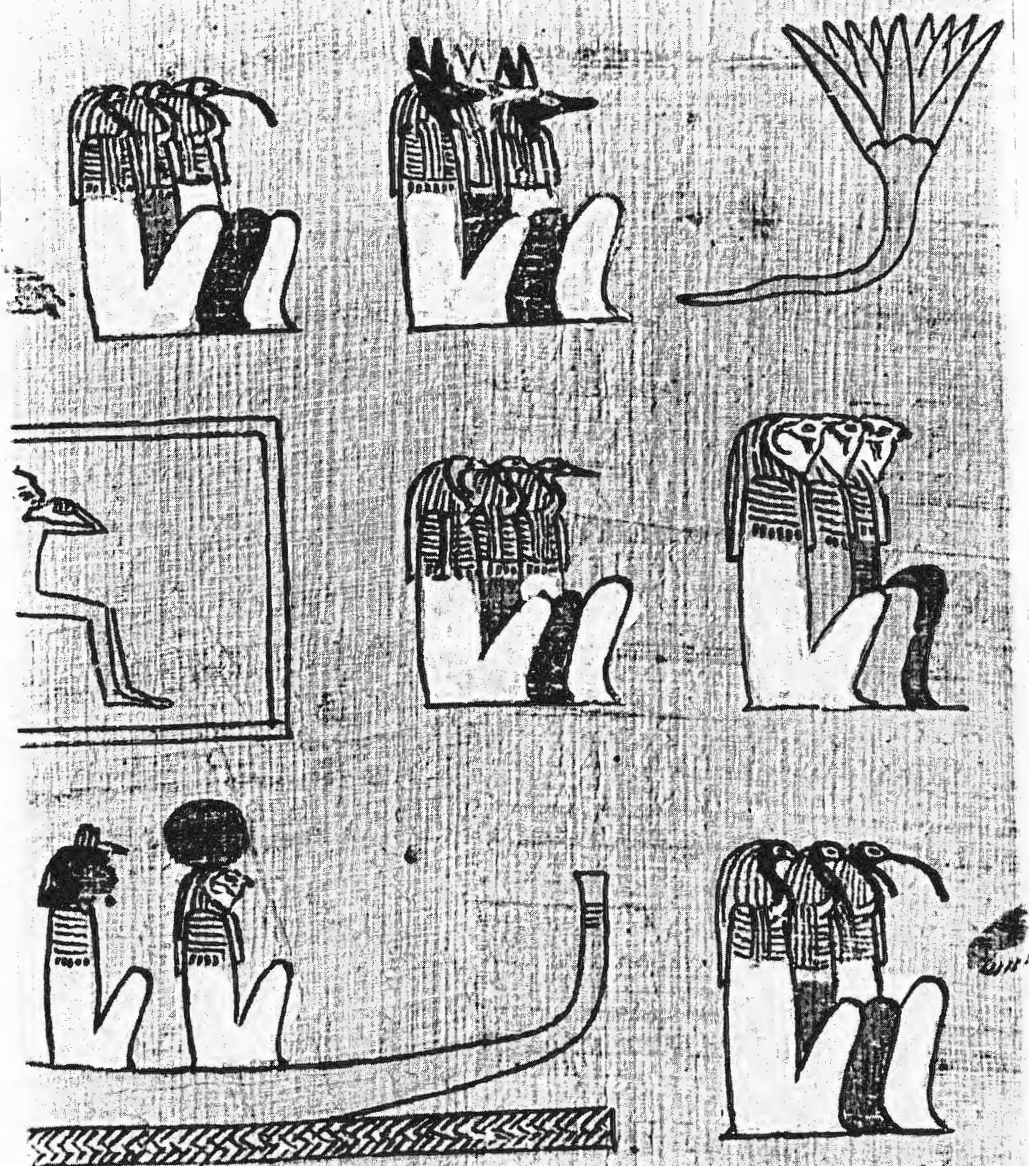




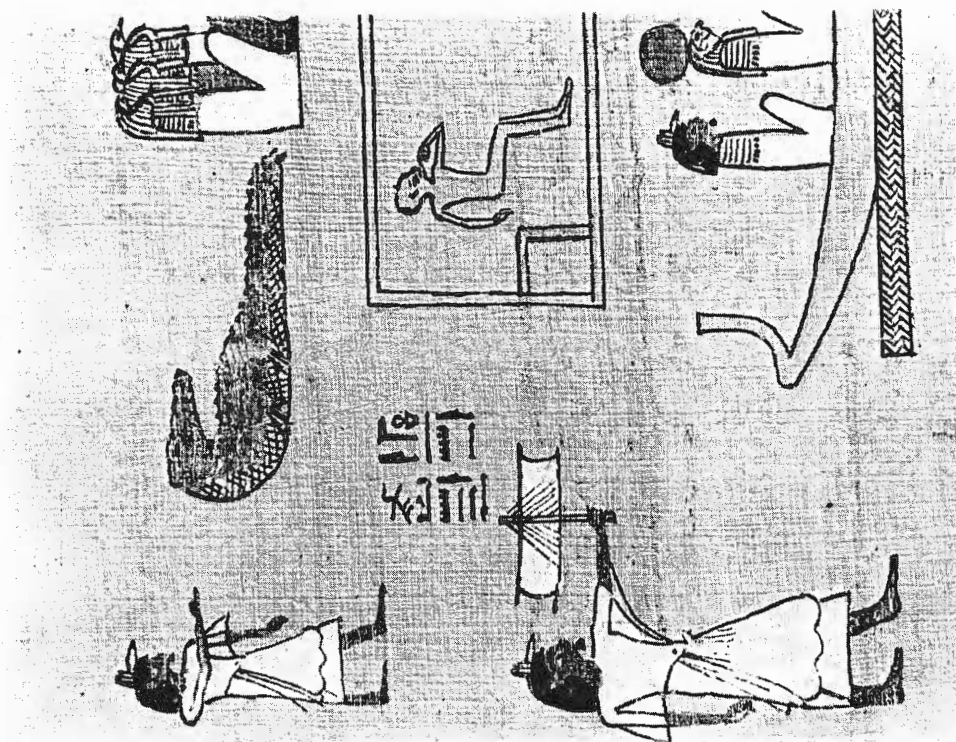
c



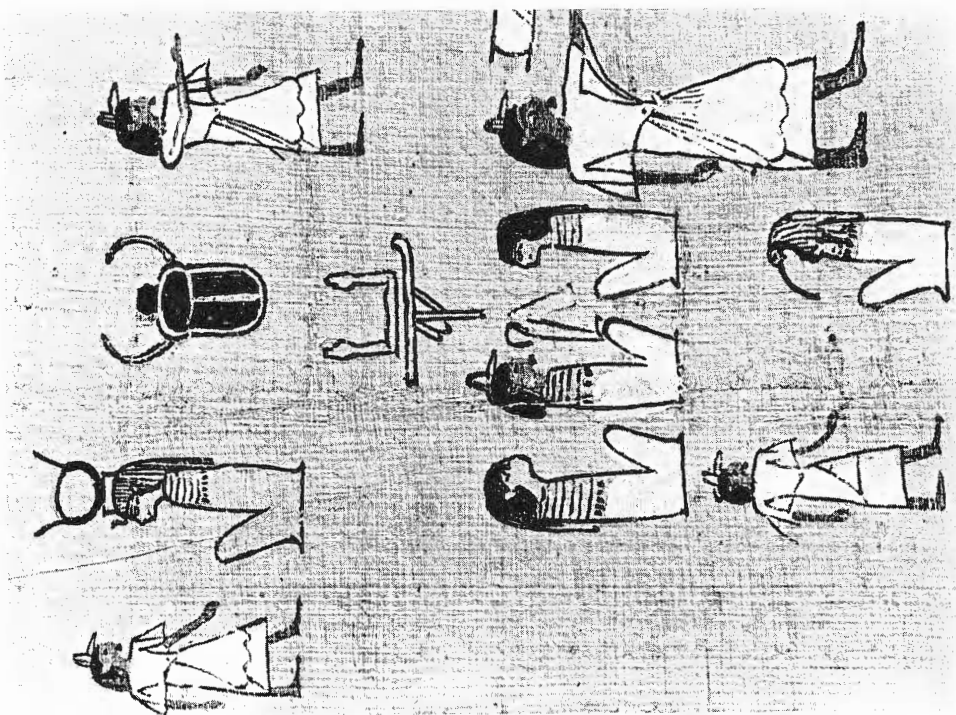
p





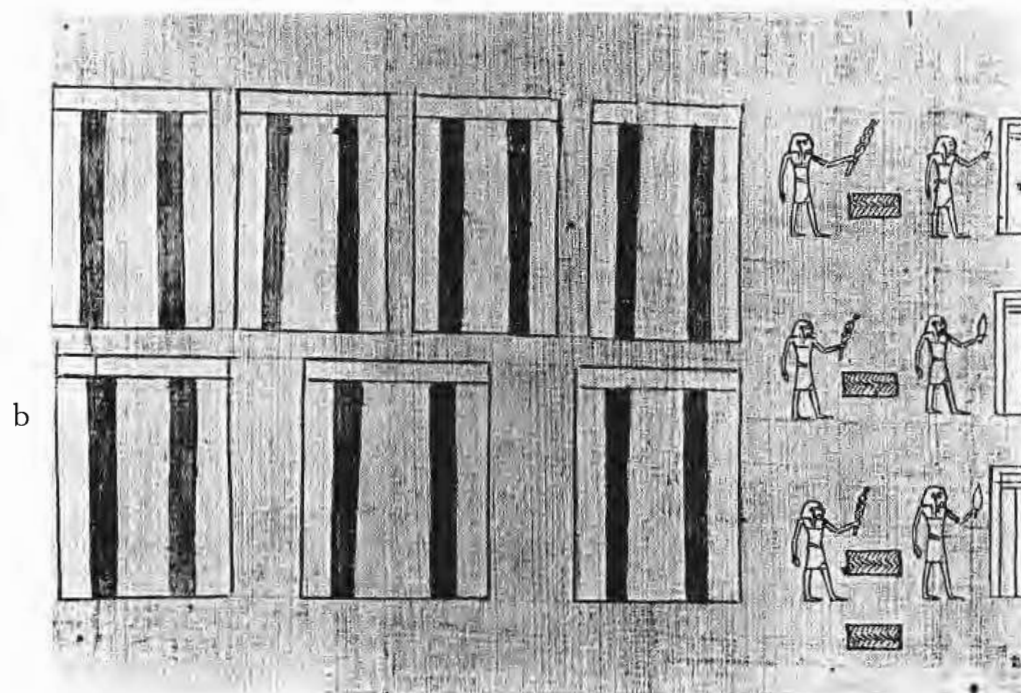
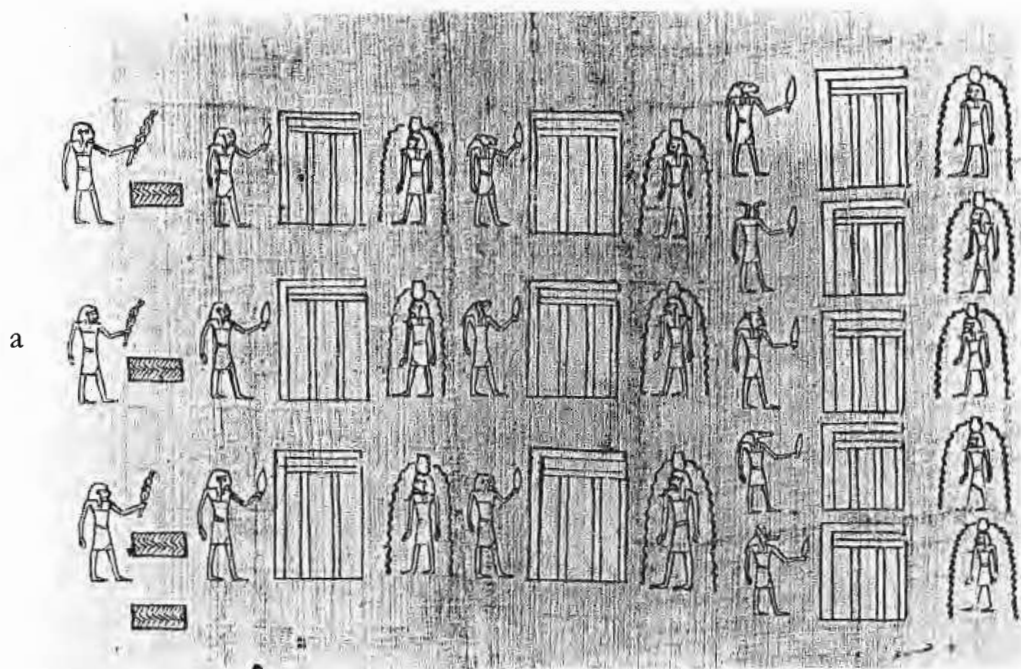


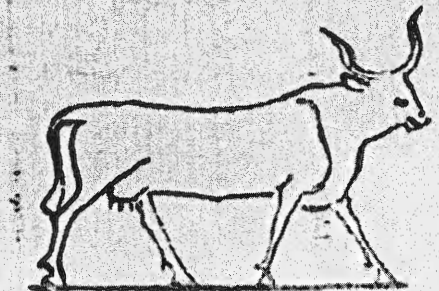
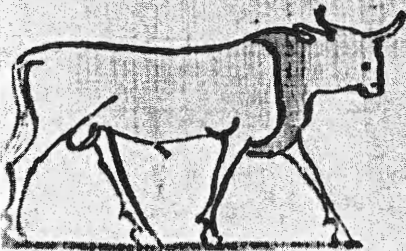
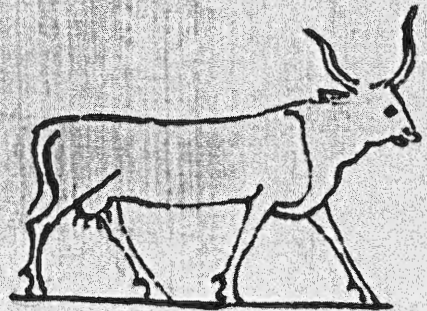
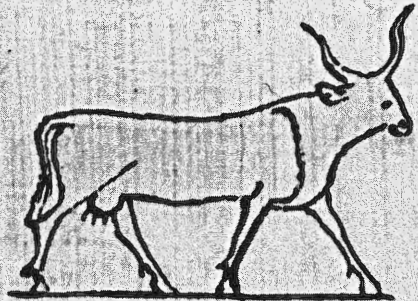
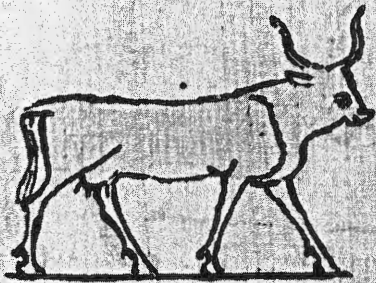
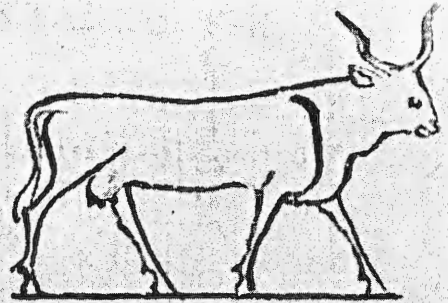
b

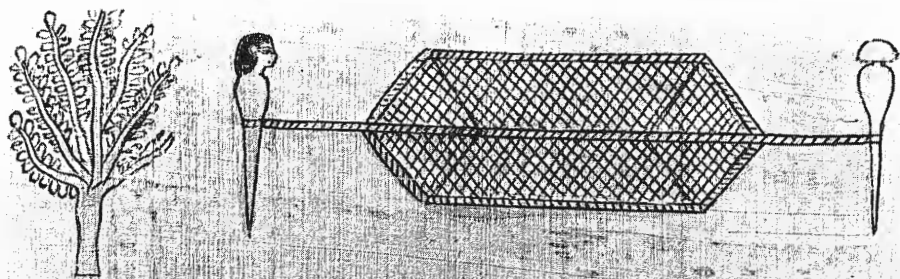


c

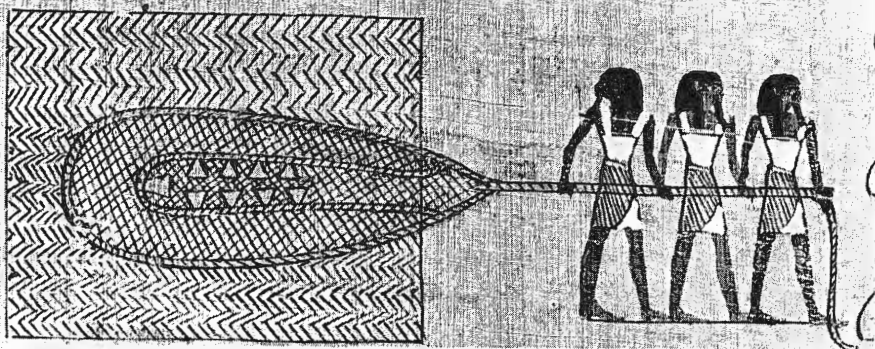
PLATE 14a-b



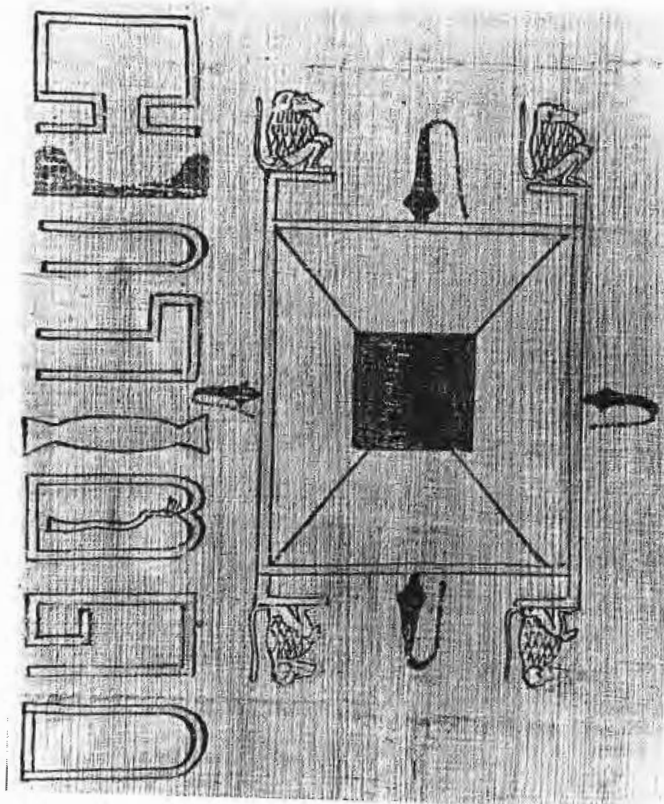




a



b





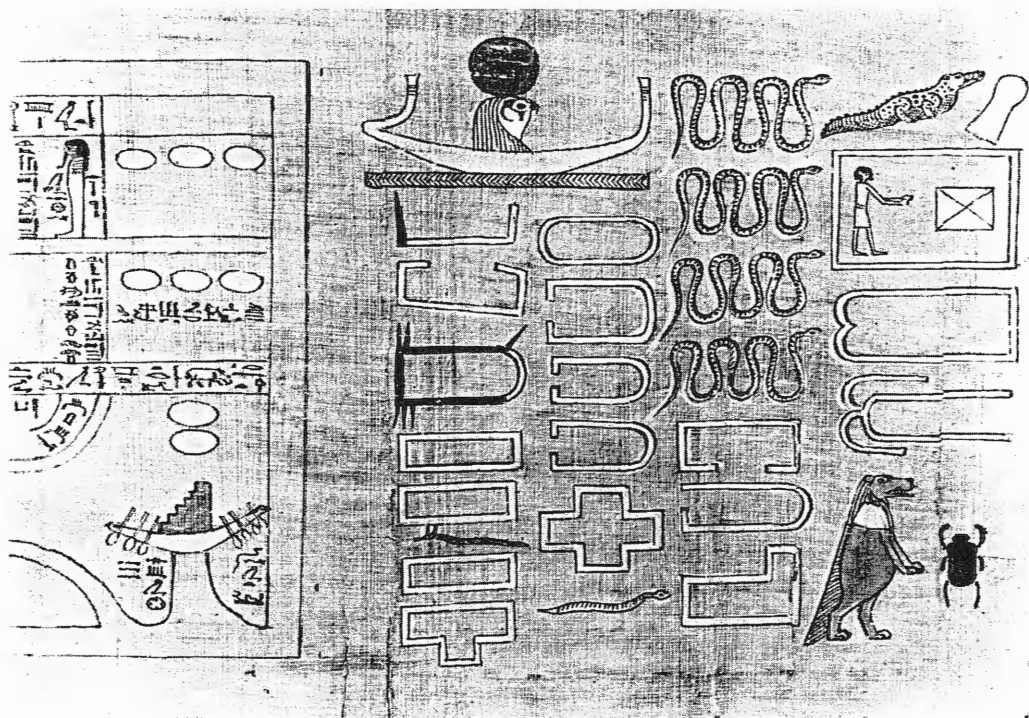
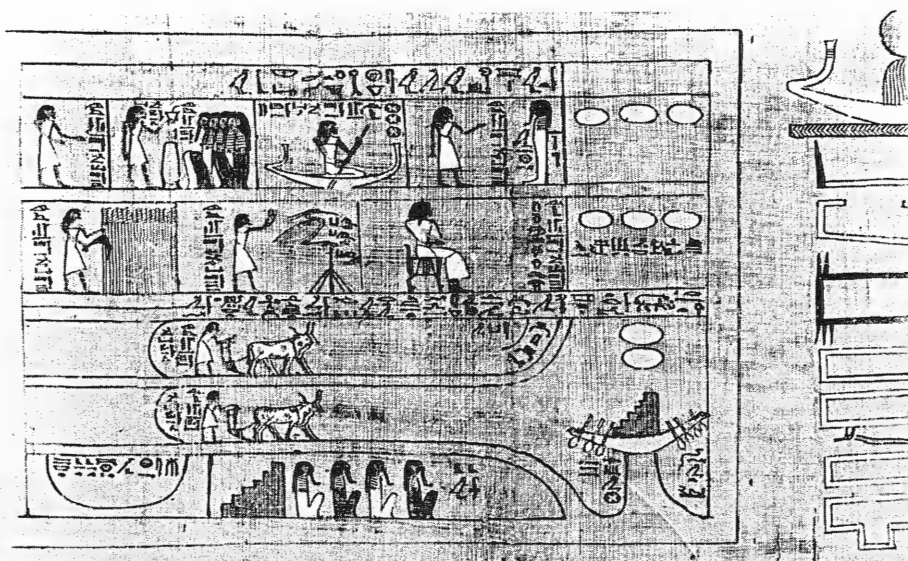


PLATE 16a-b











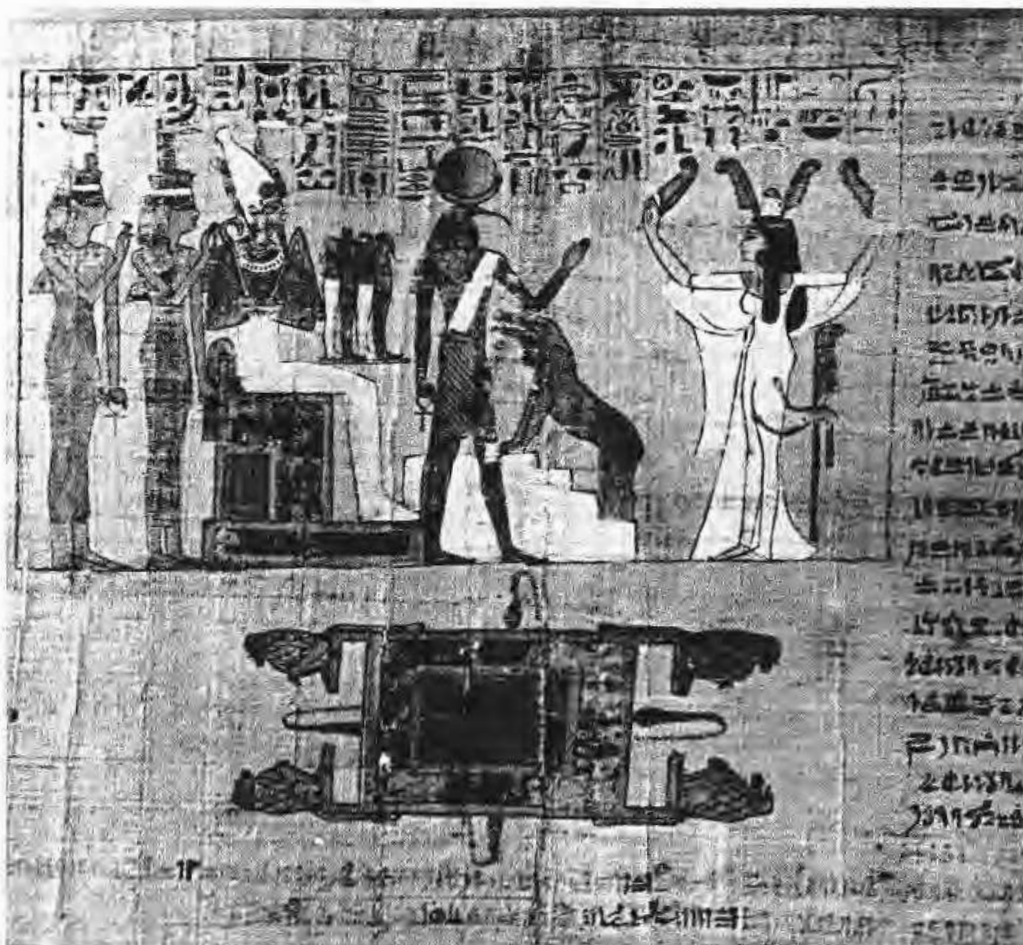
a



b

PLATE 19a





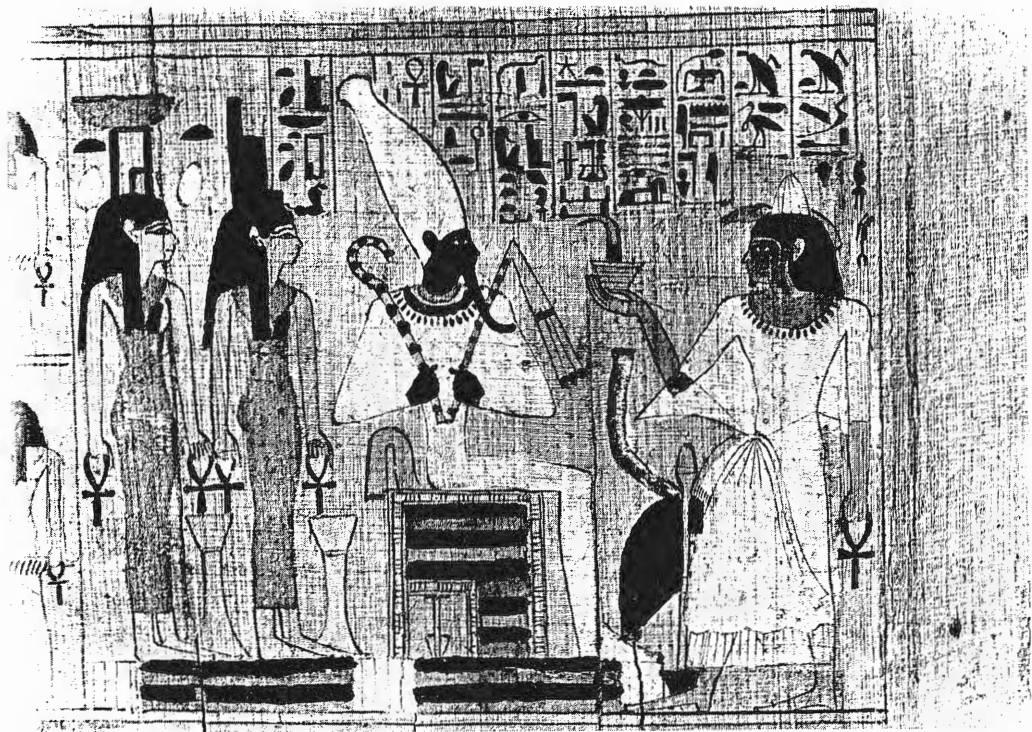
a



b





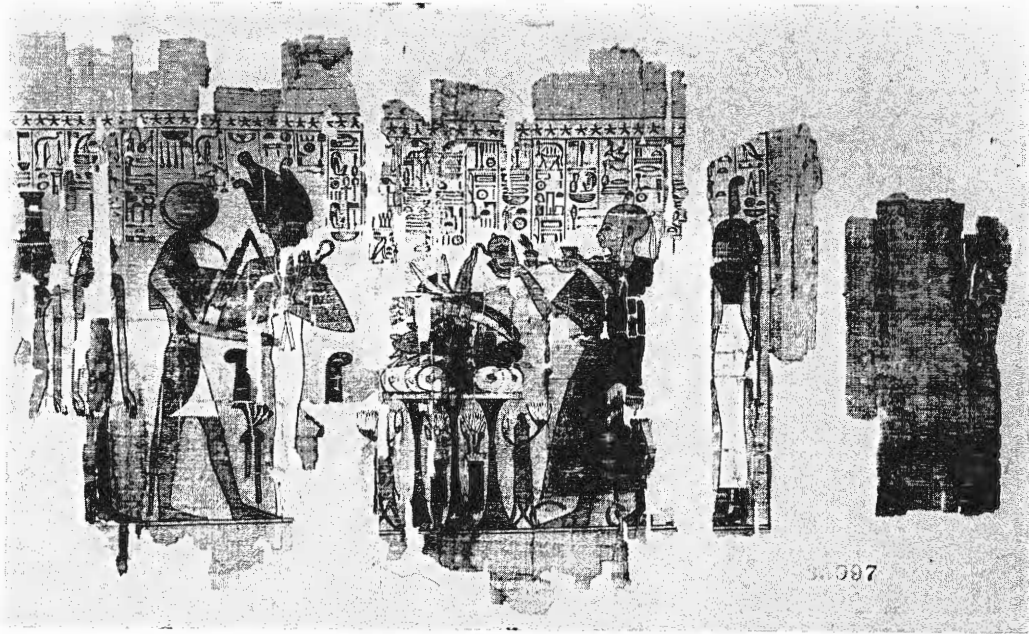


a



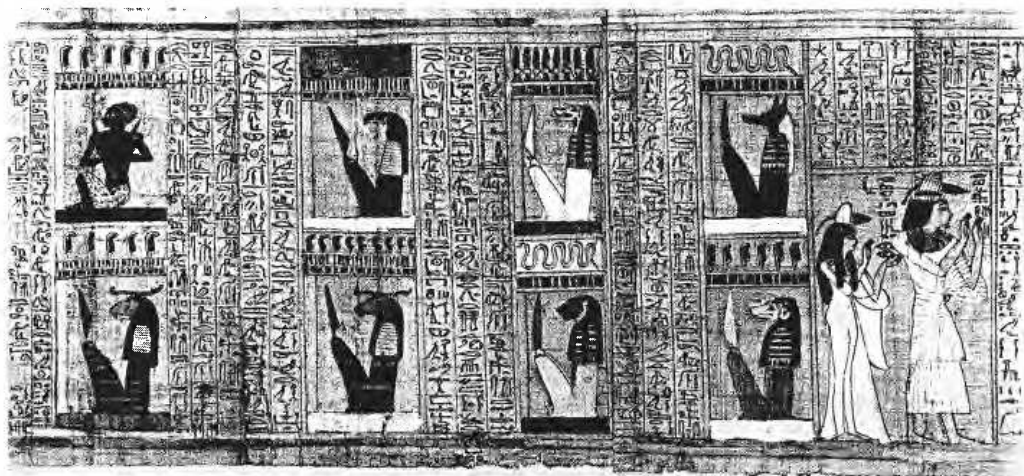
b

a

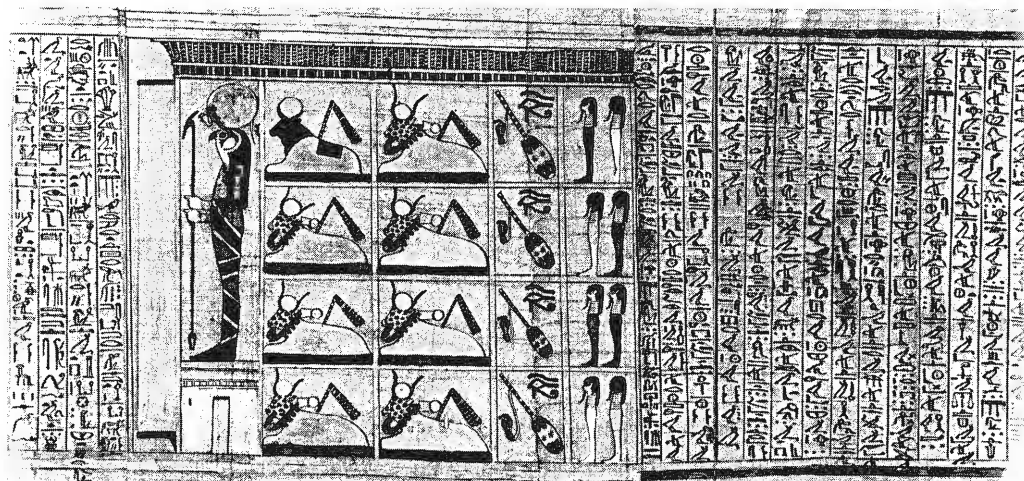


b





a



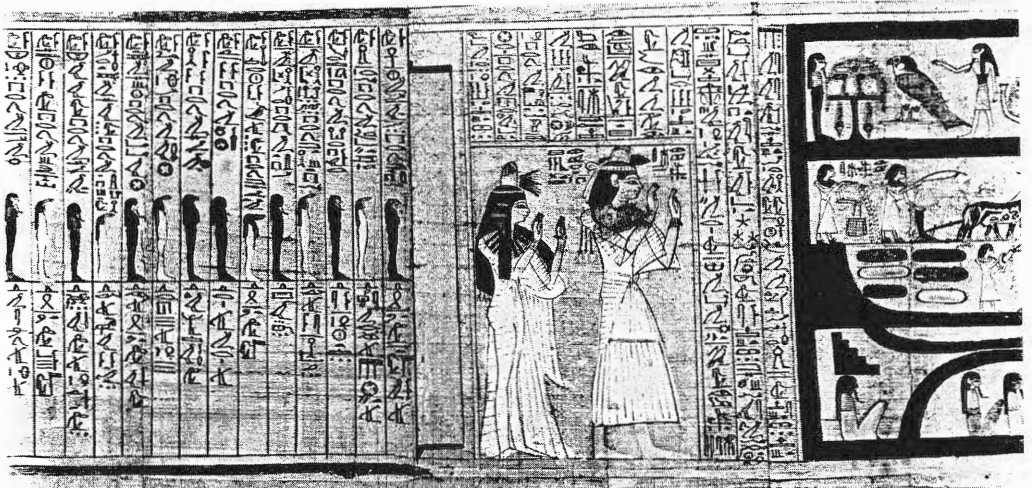
b



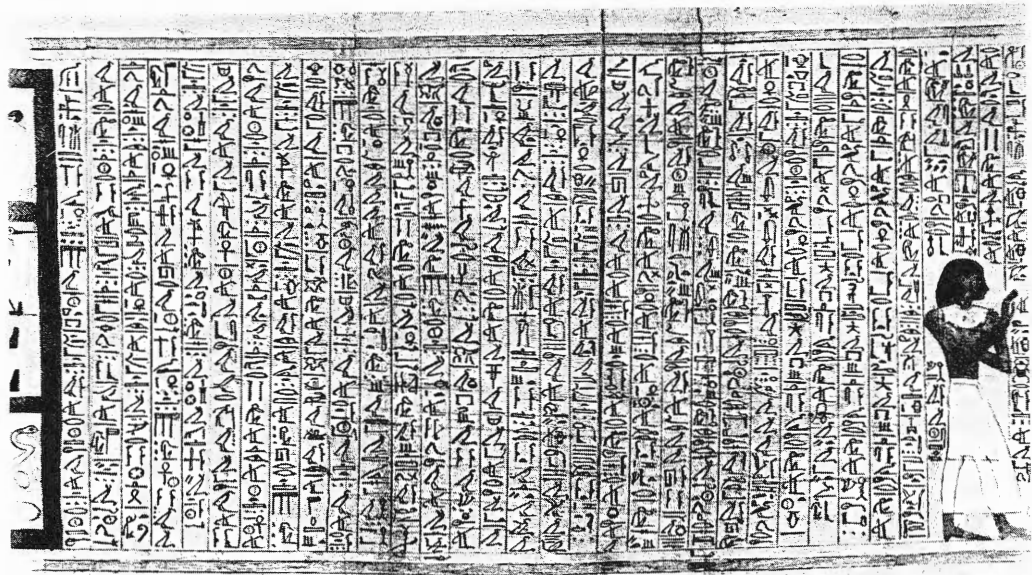
c



a

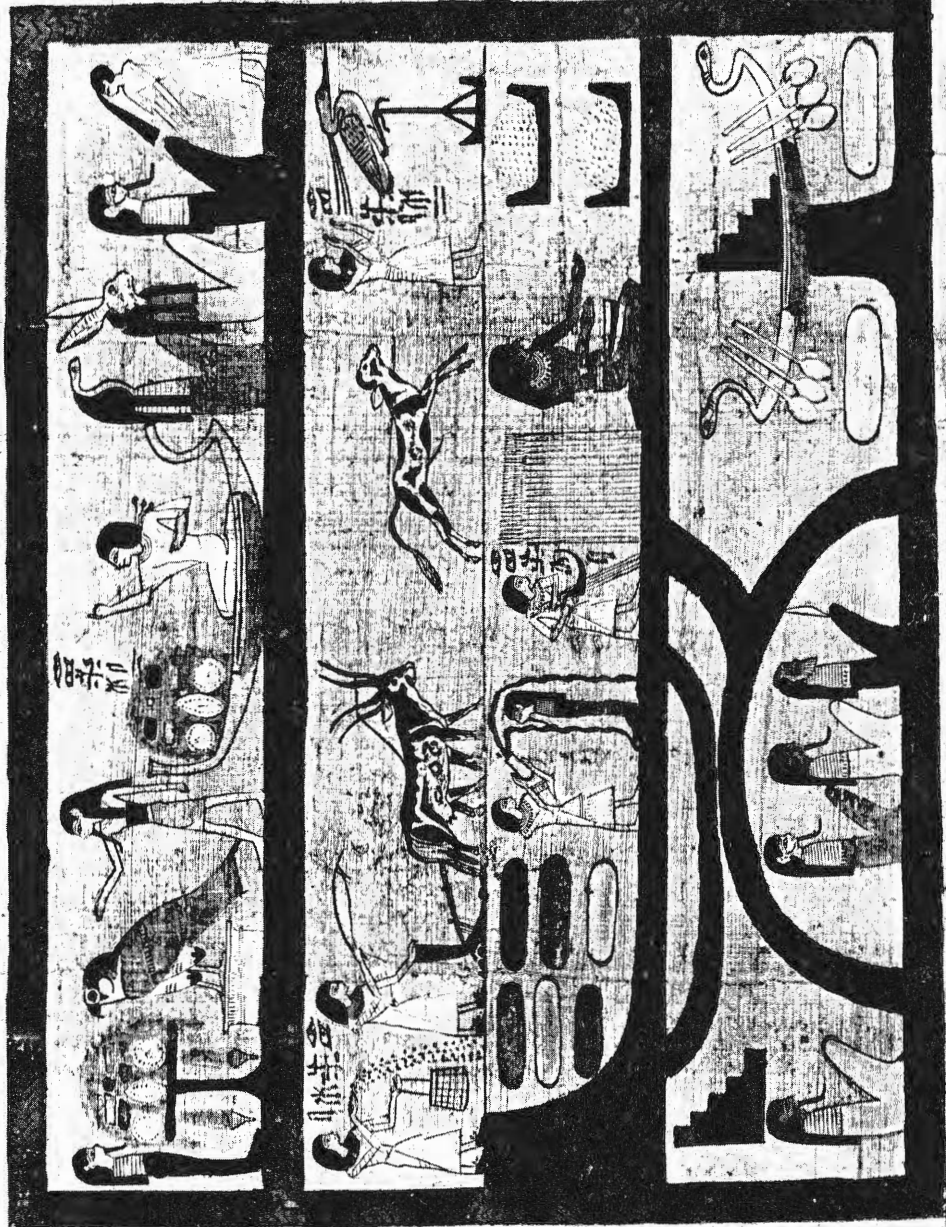


b



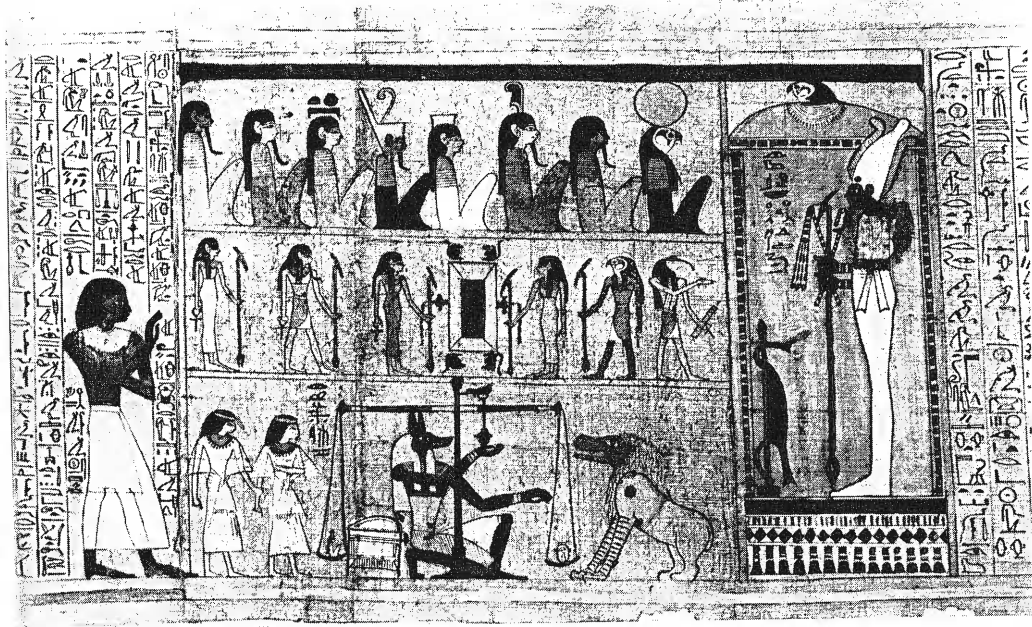


Hieroglyphic text at the top of the panel, arranged in three horizontal registers. The script is in an ancient Egyptian style, likely from the Late Period or Ptolemaic era.



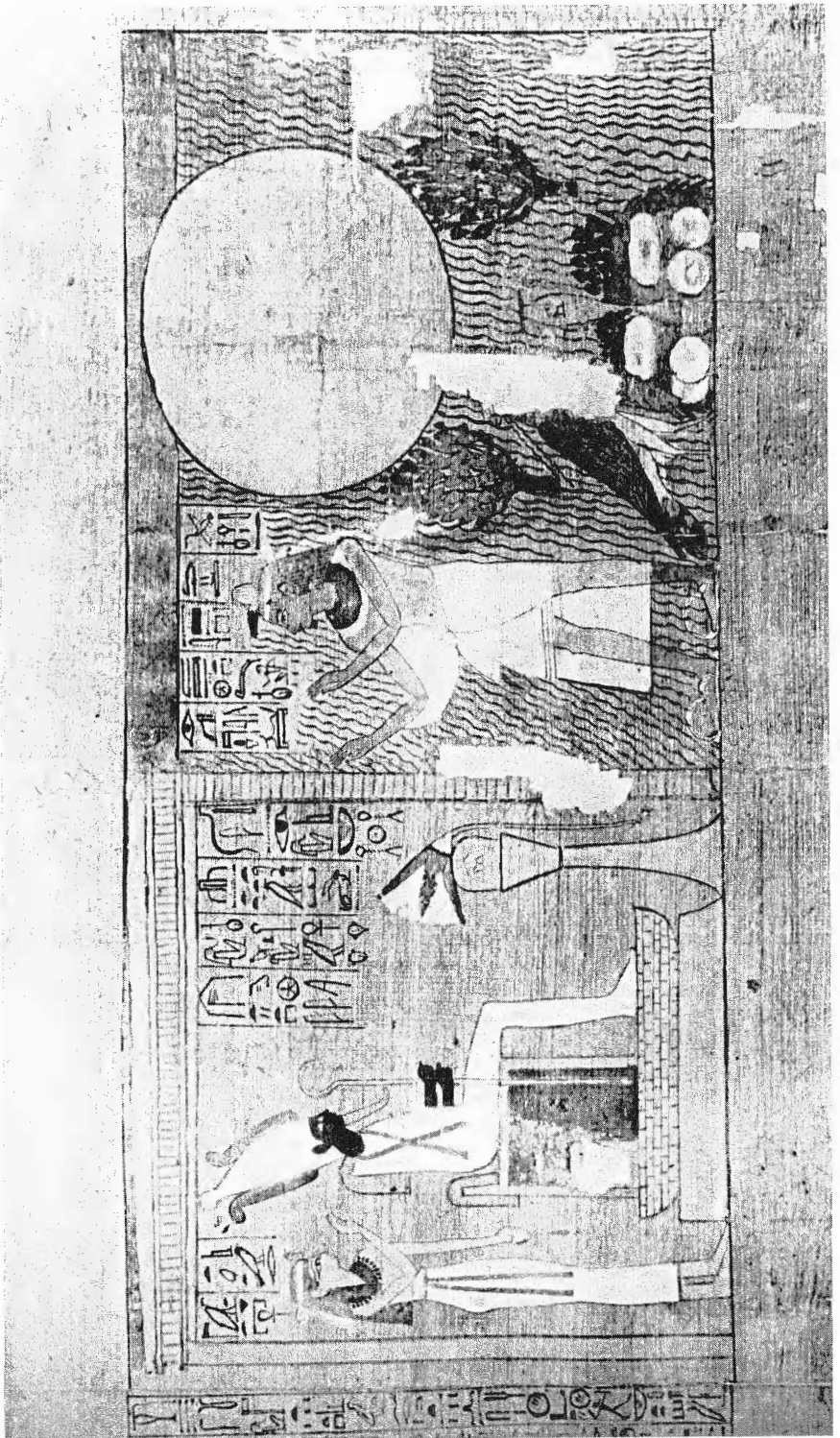
Hieroglyphic text at the bottom of the panel, arranged in a single horizontal register. The script is in an ancient Egyptian style, likely from the Late Period or Ptolemaic era.

a

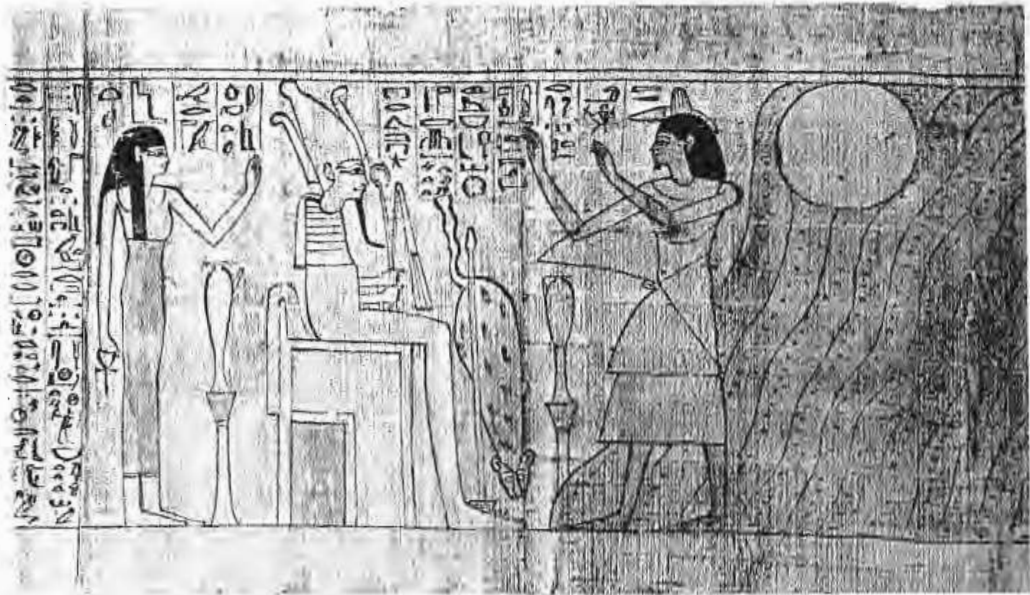


b

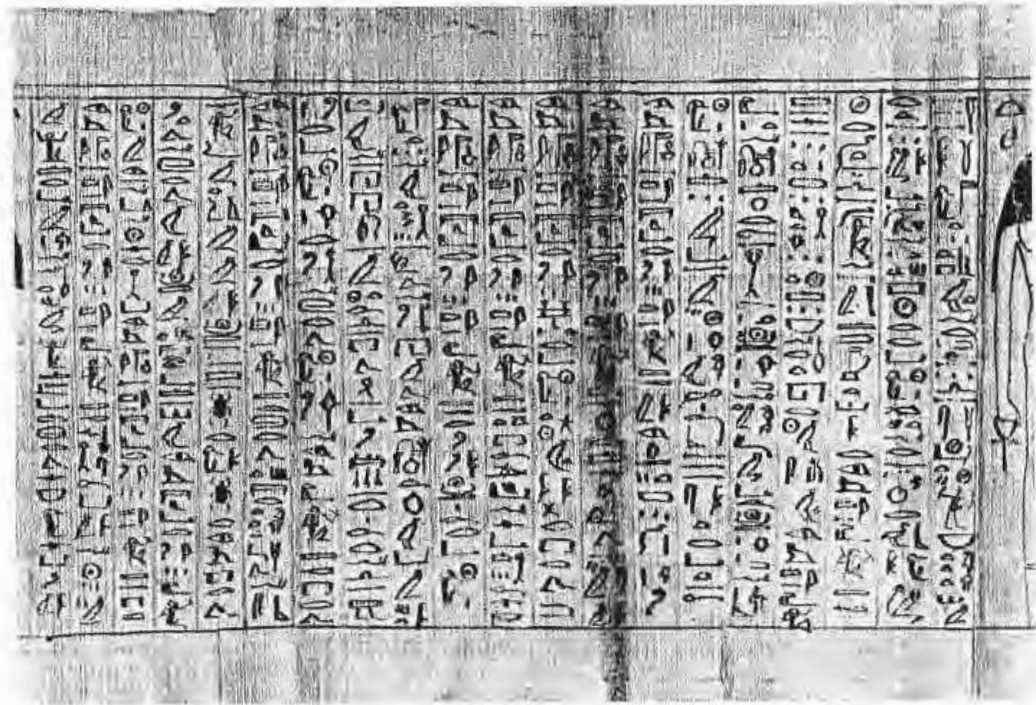




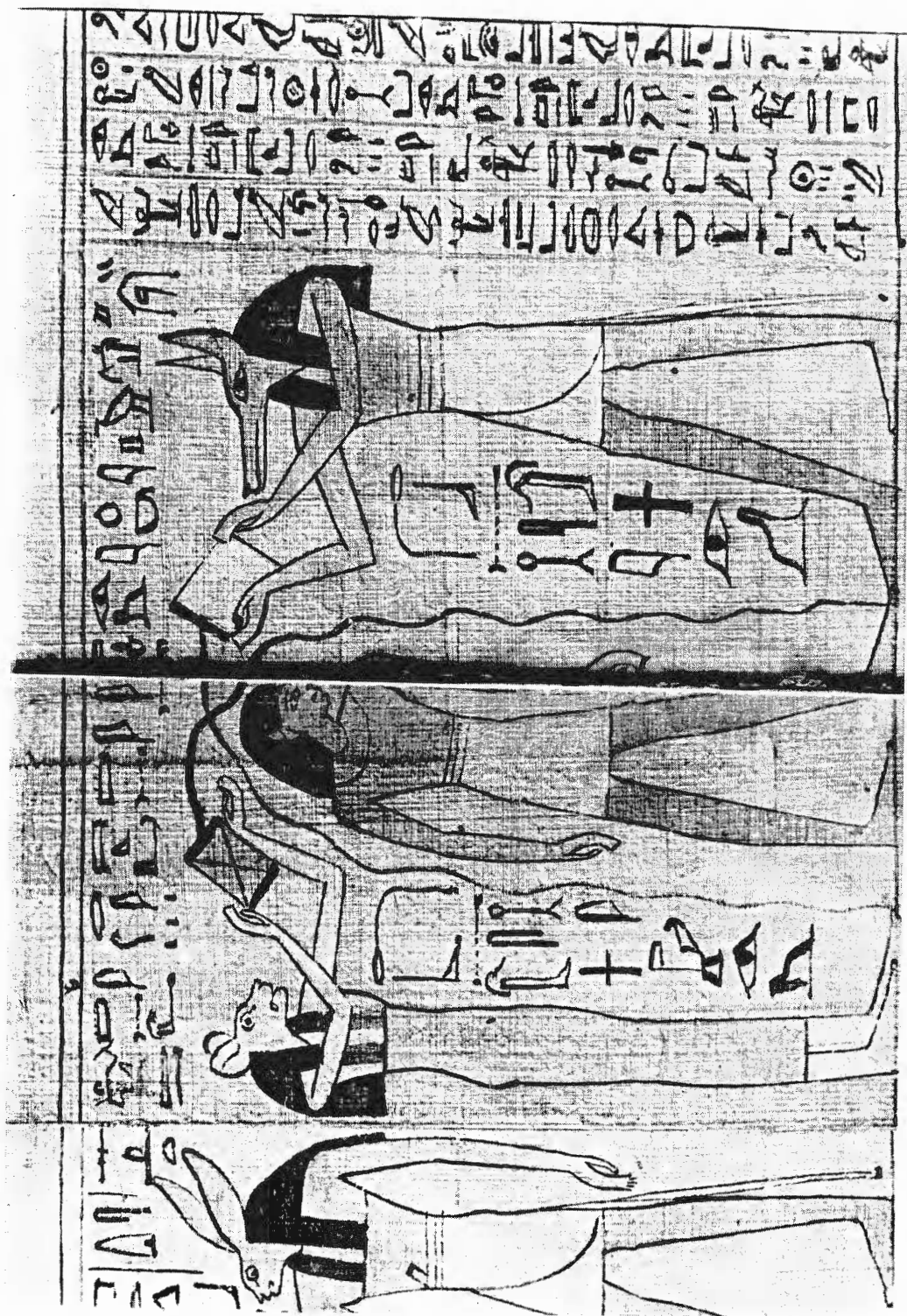
a



b



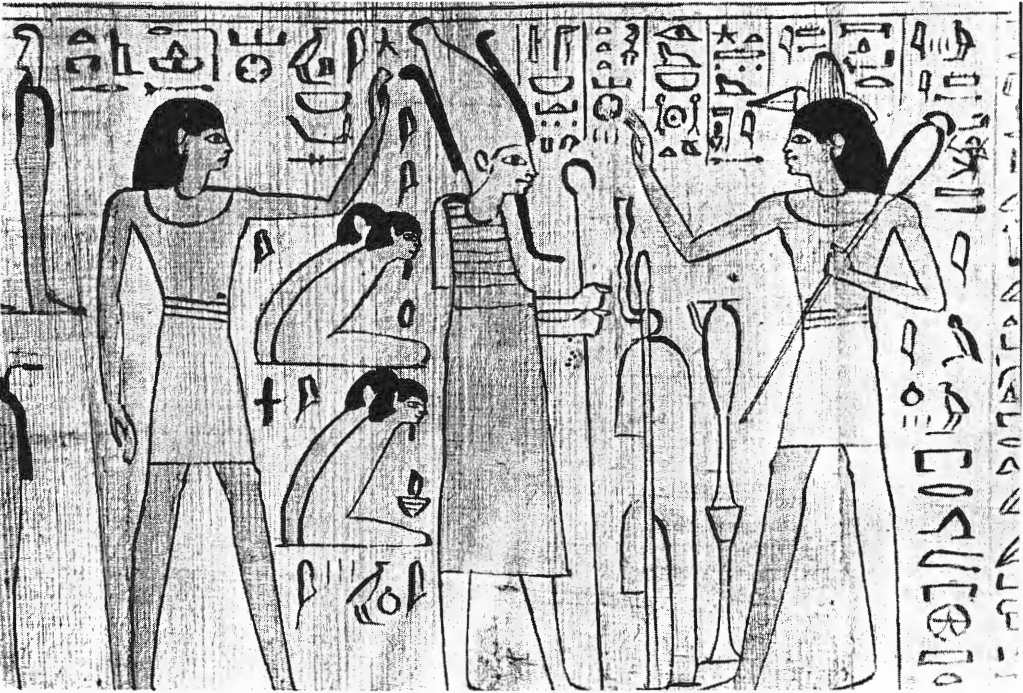


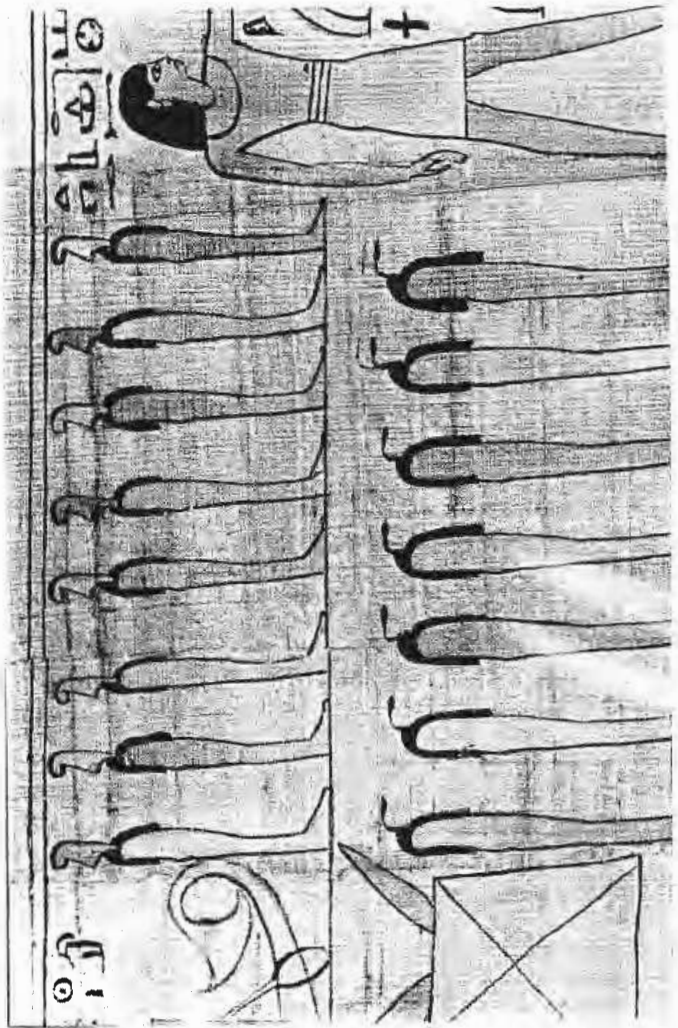


a

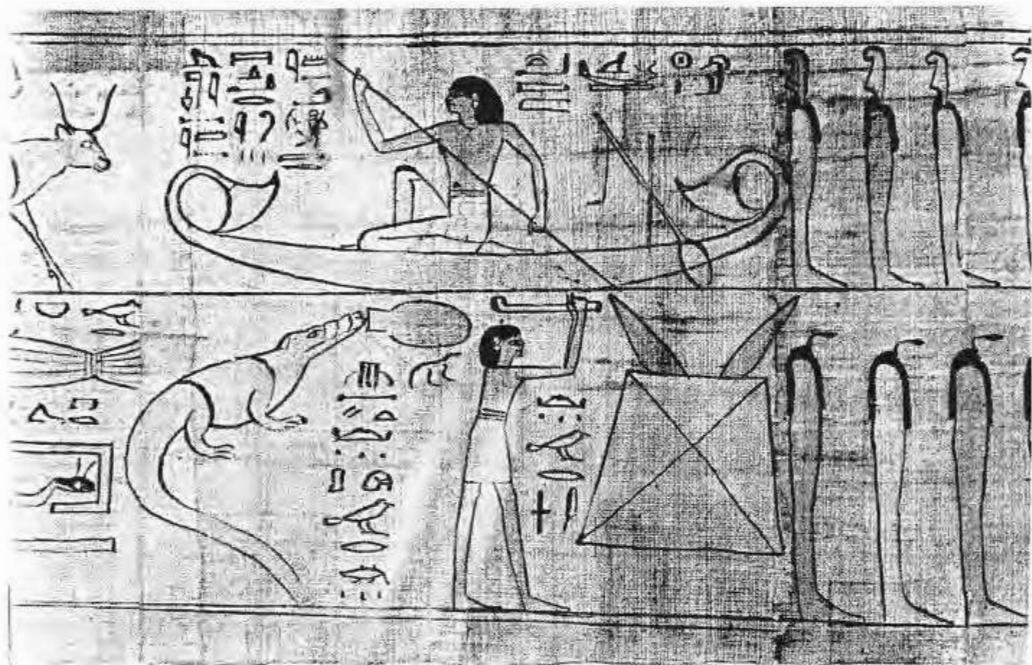


b

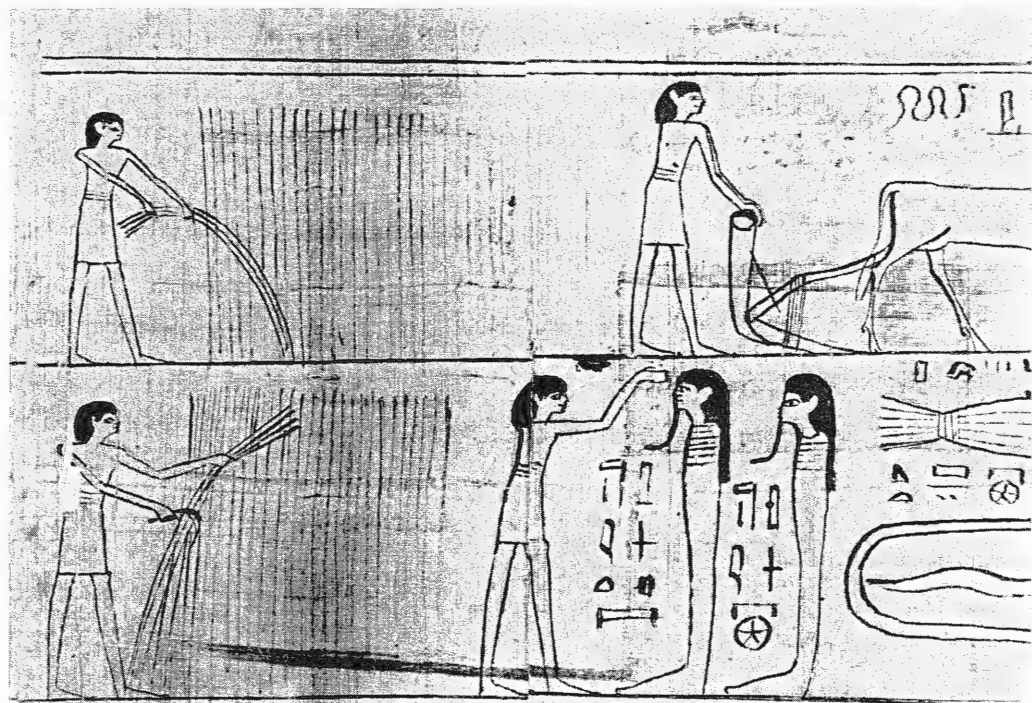




a



b



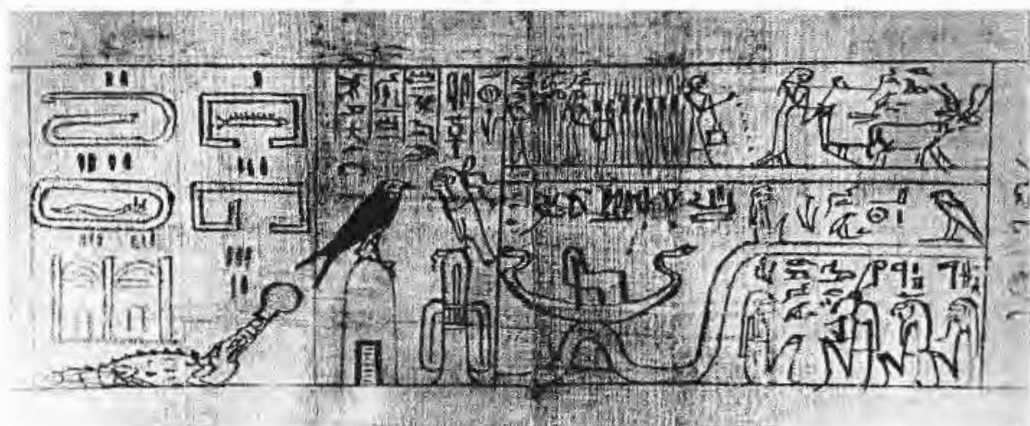




a



b



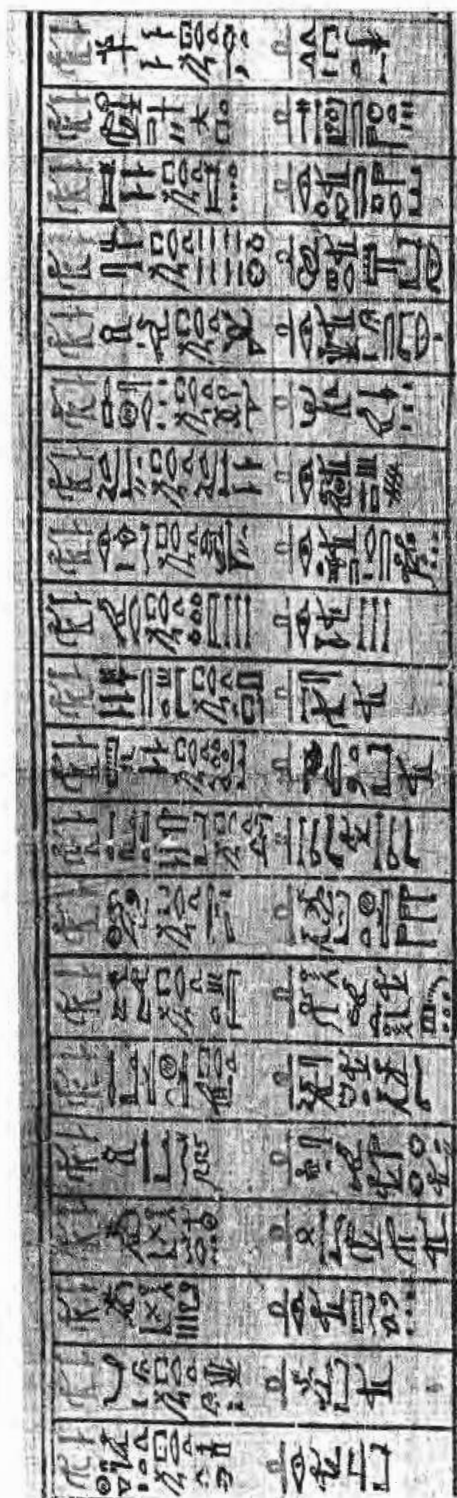
c



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b

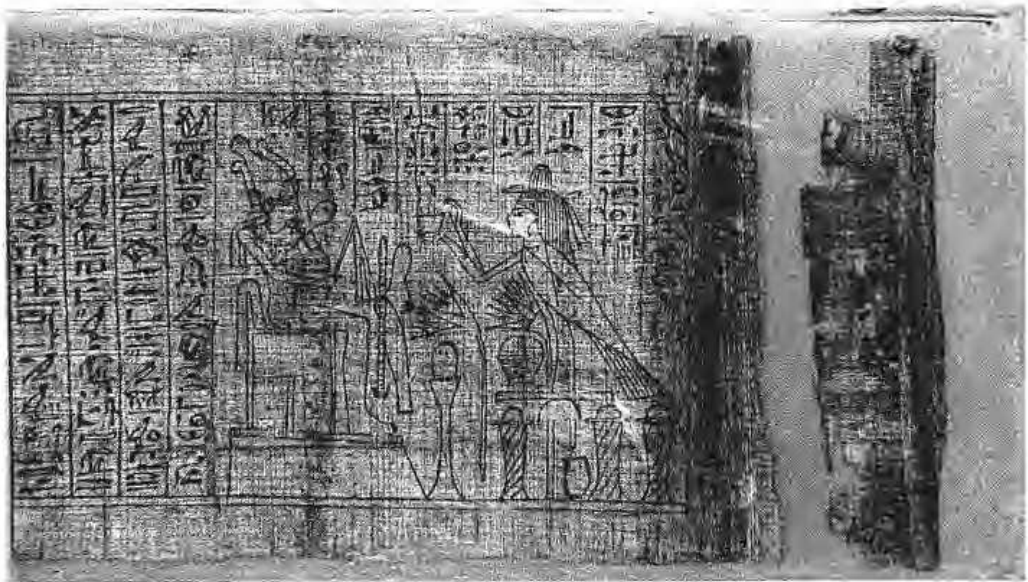


c



d

a



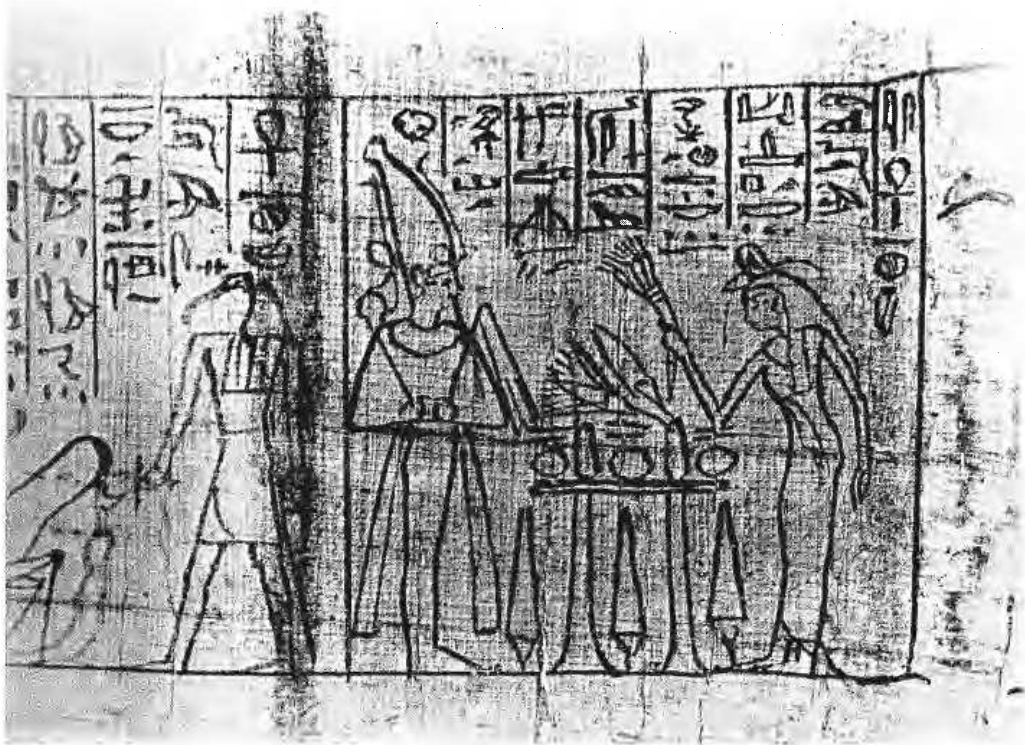
b



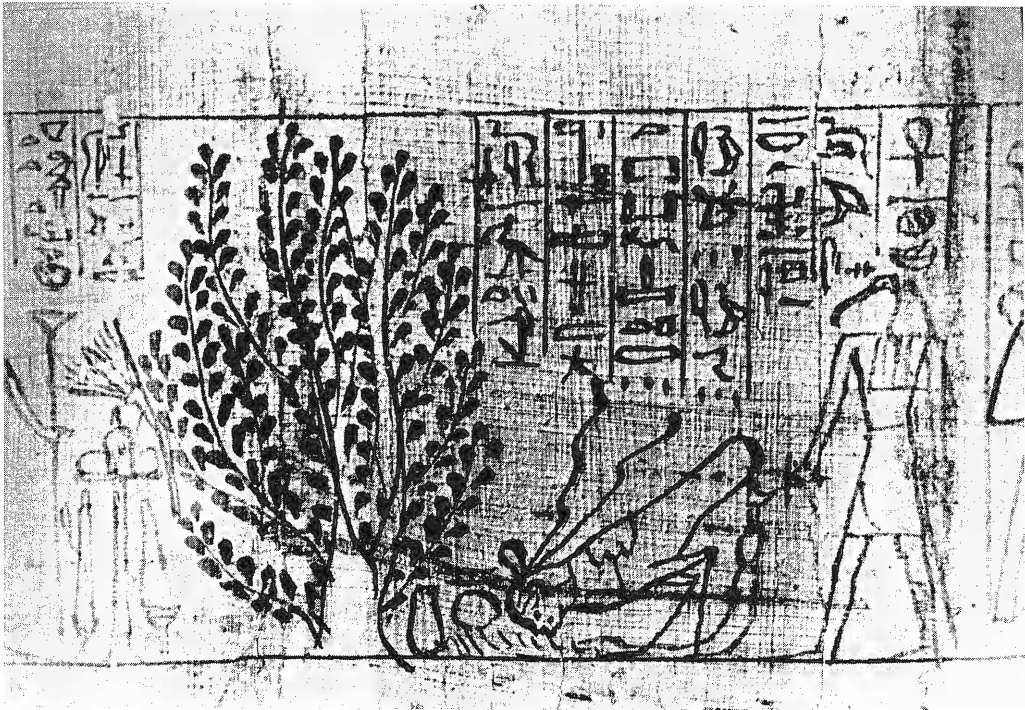


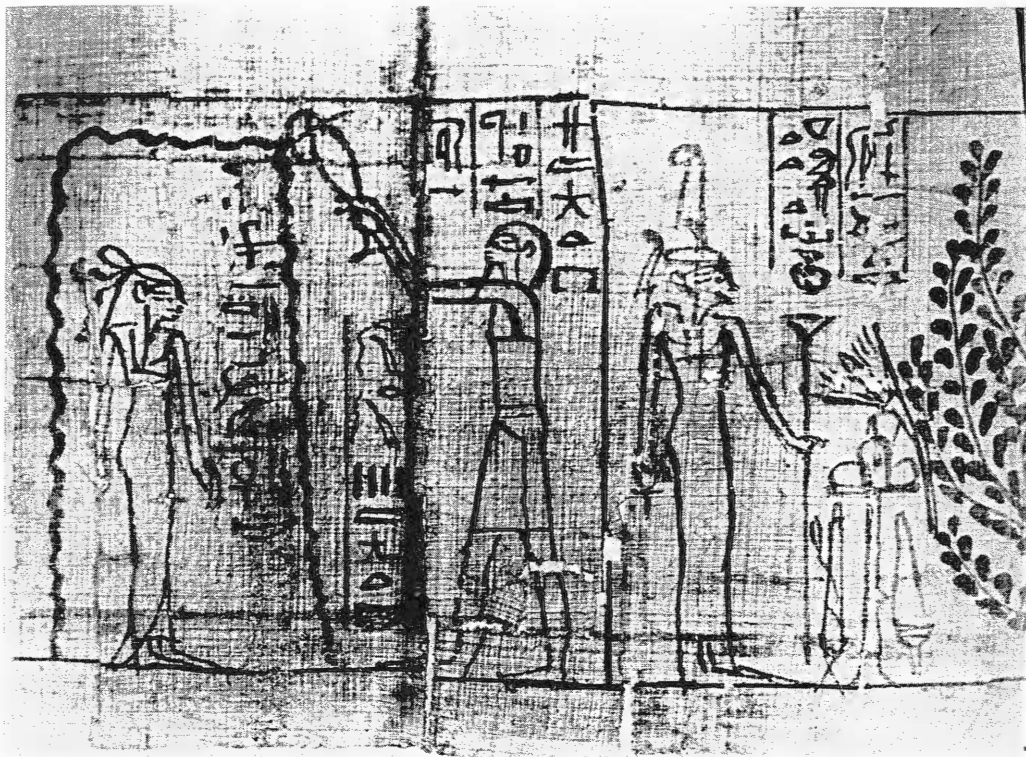


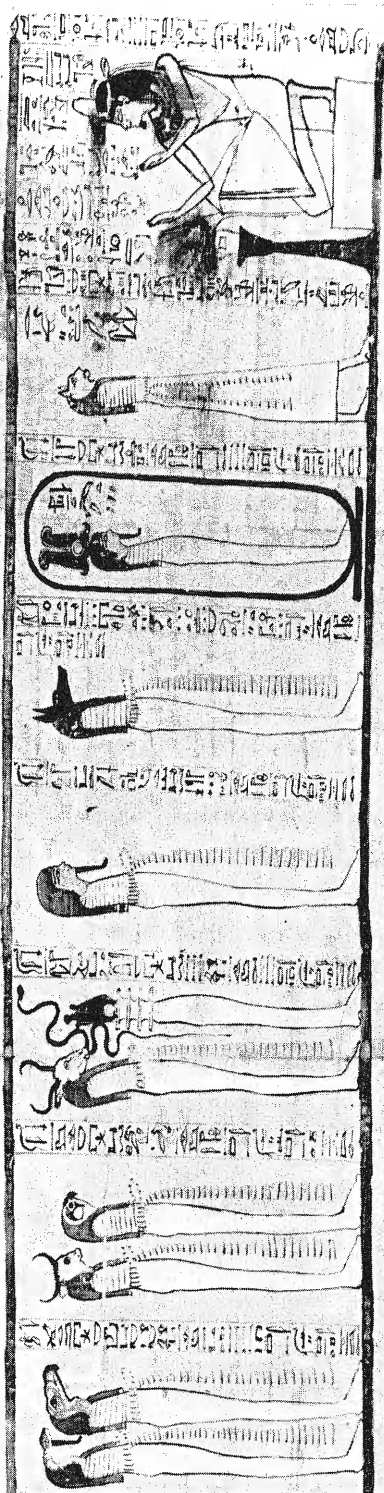
a



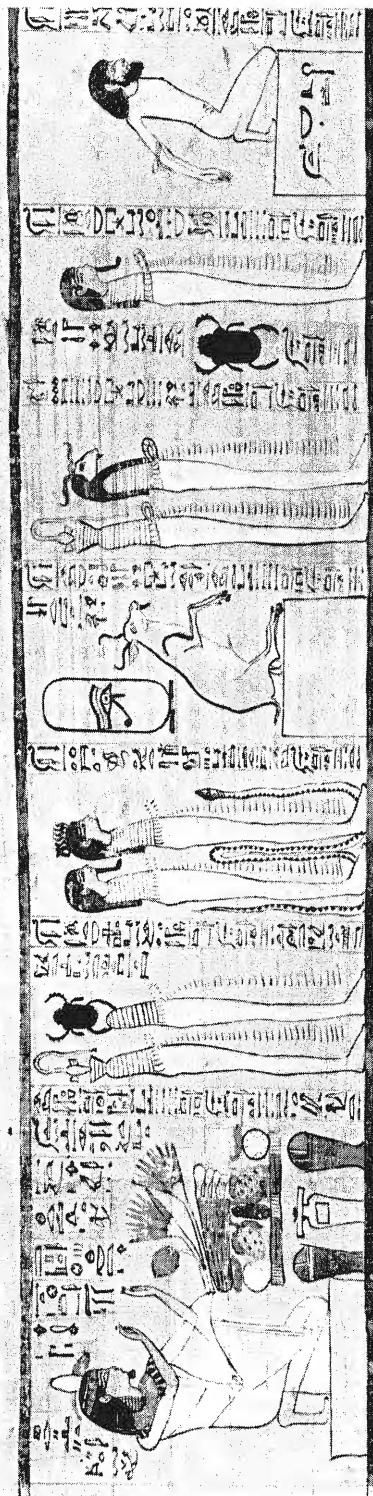
b





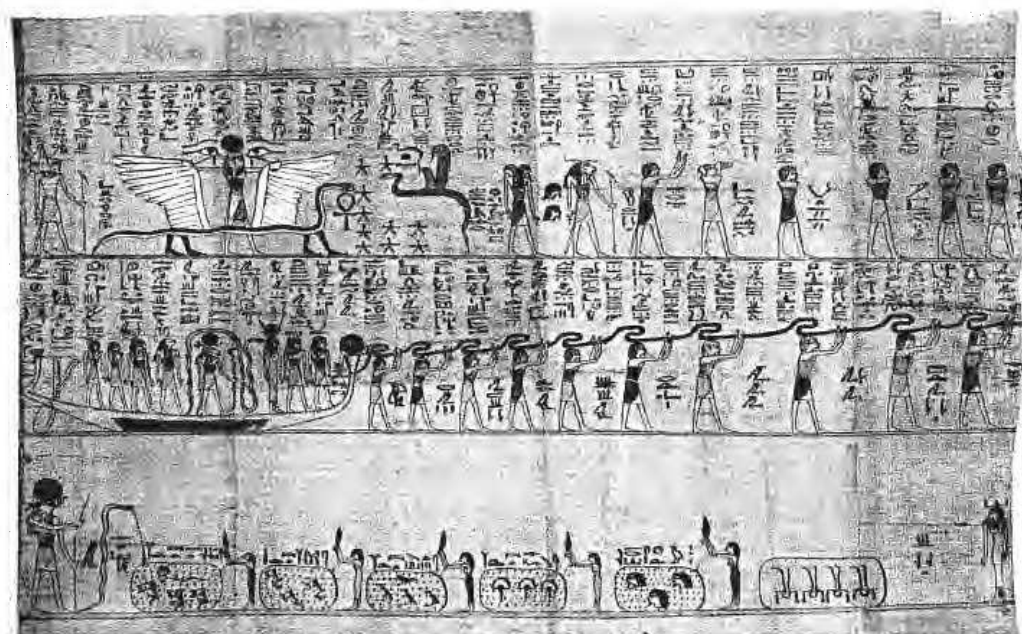
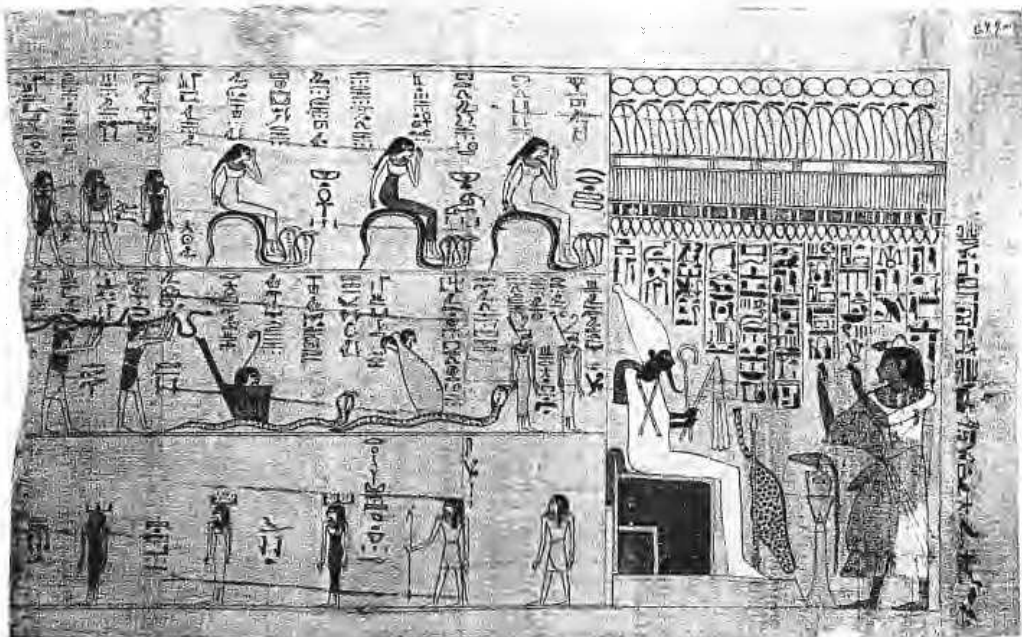


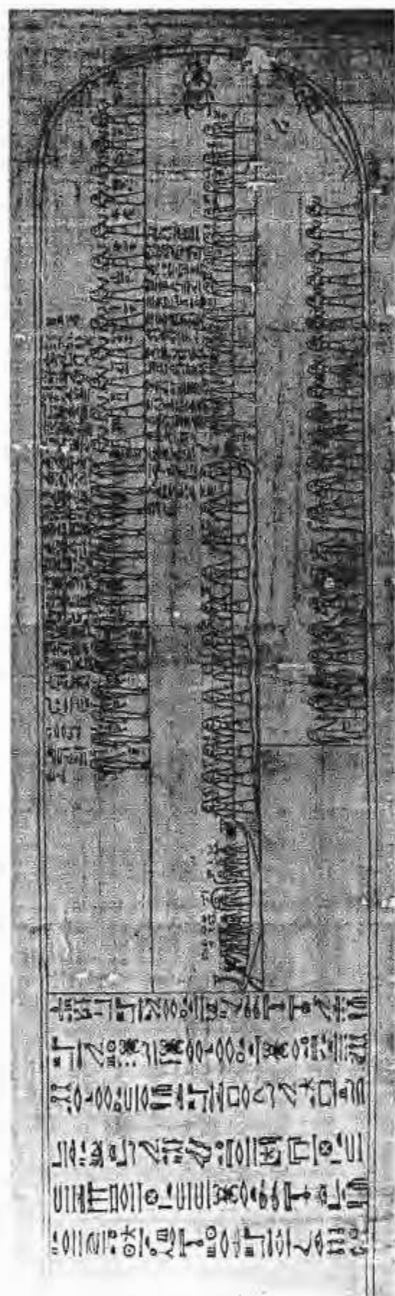
a



b







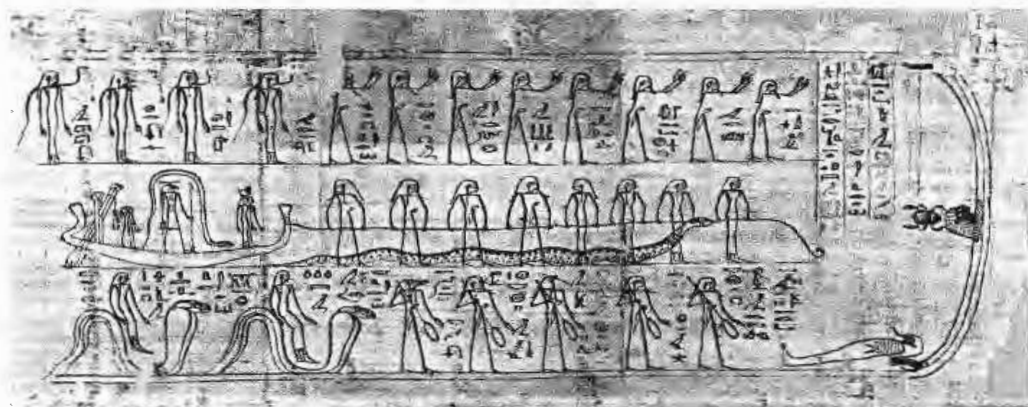
a



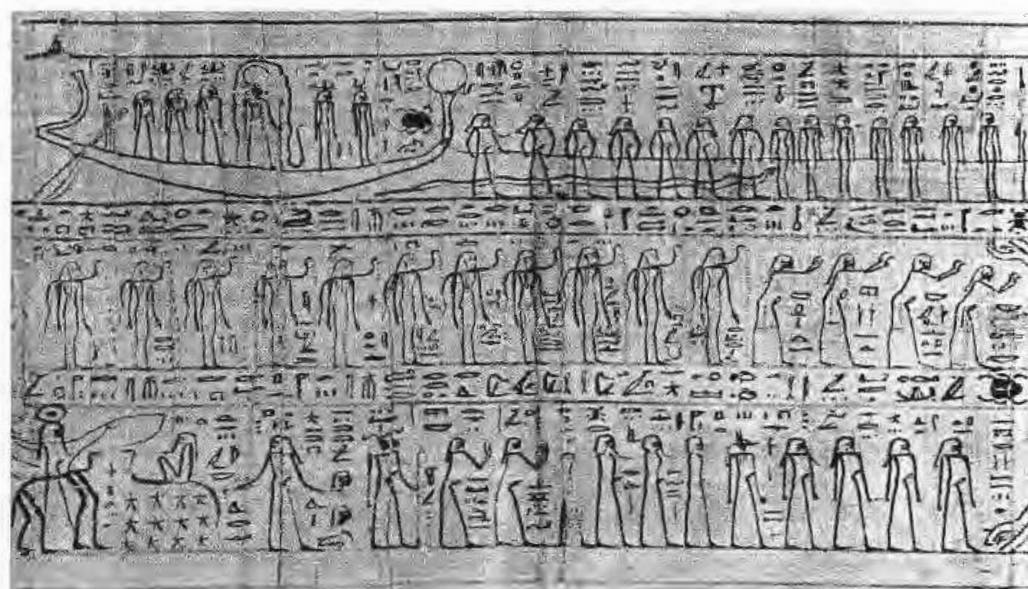
b

(For Plate 35 please turn over!)

PLATE 38a-b



a



b



a



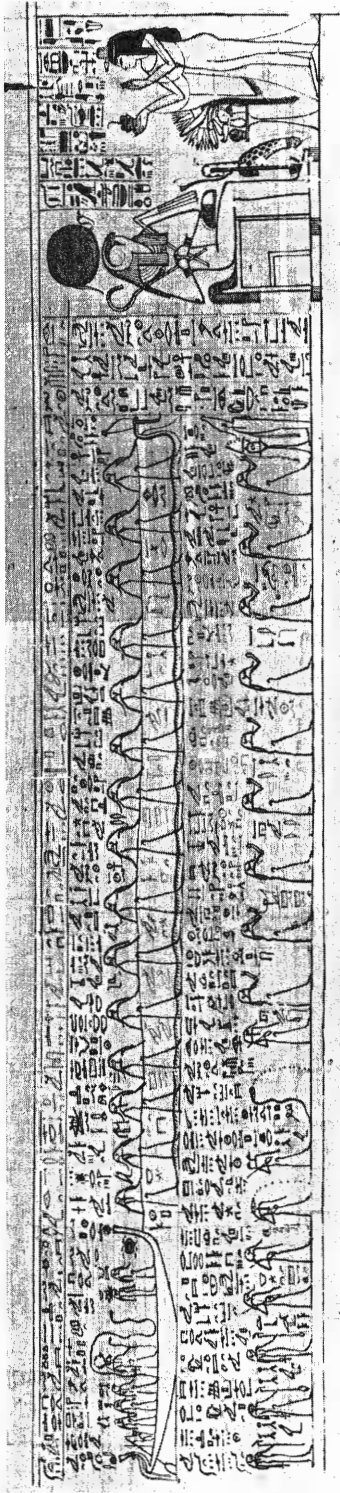
b





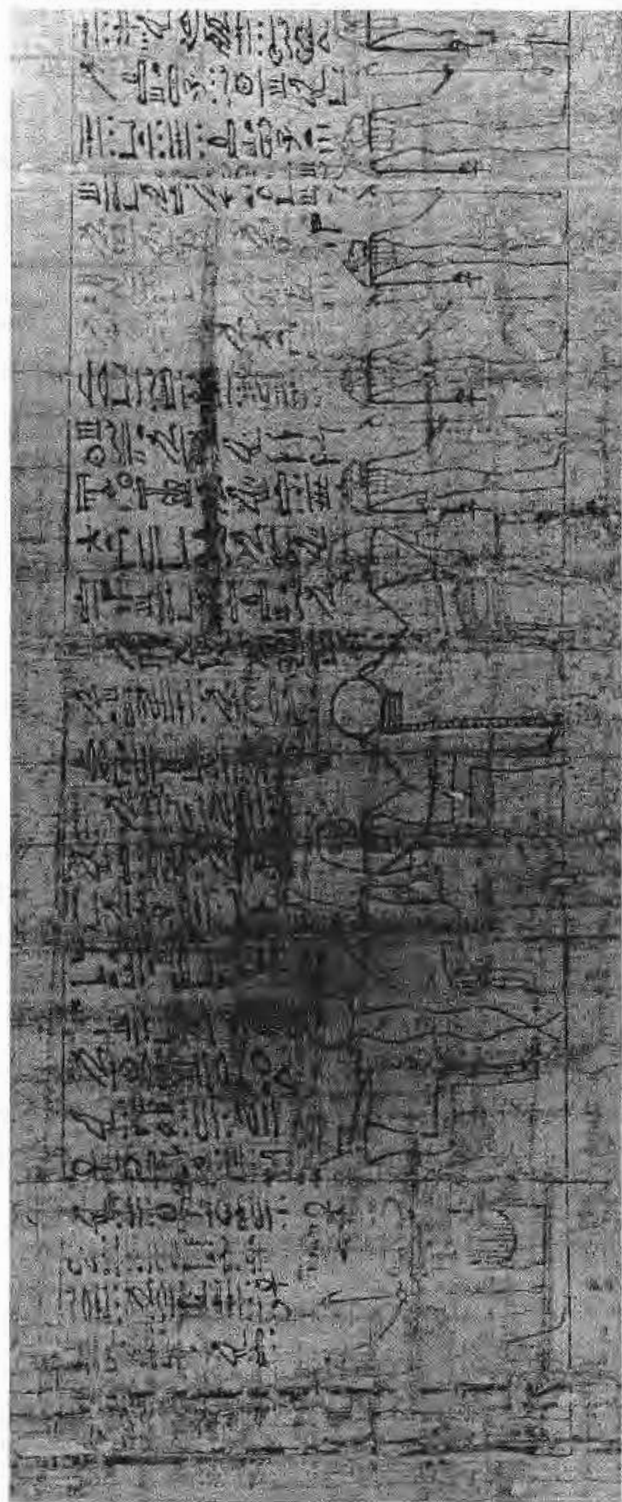


a

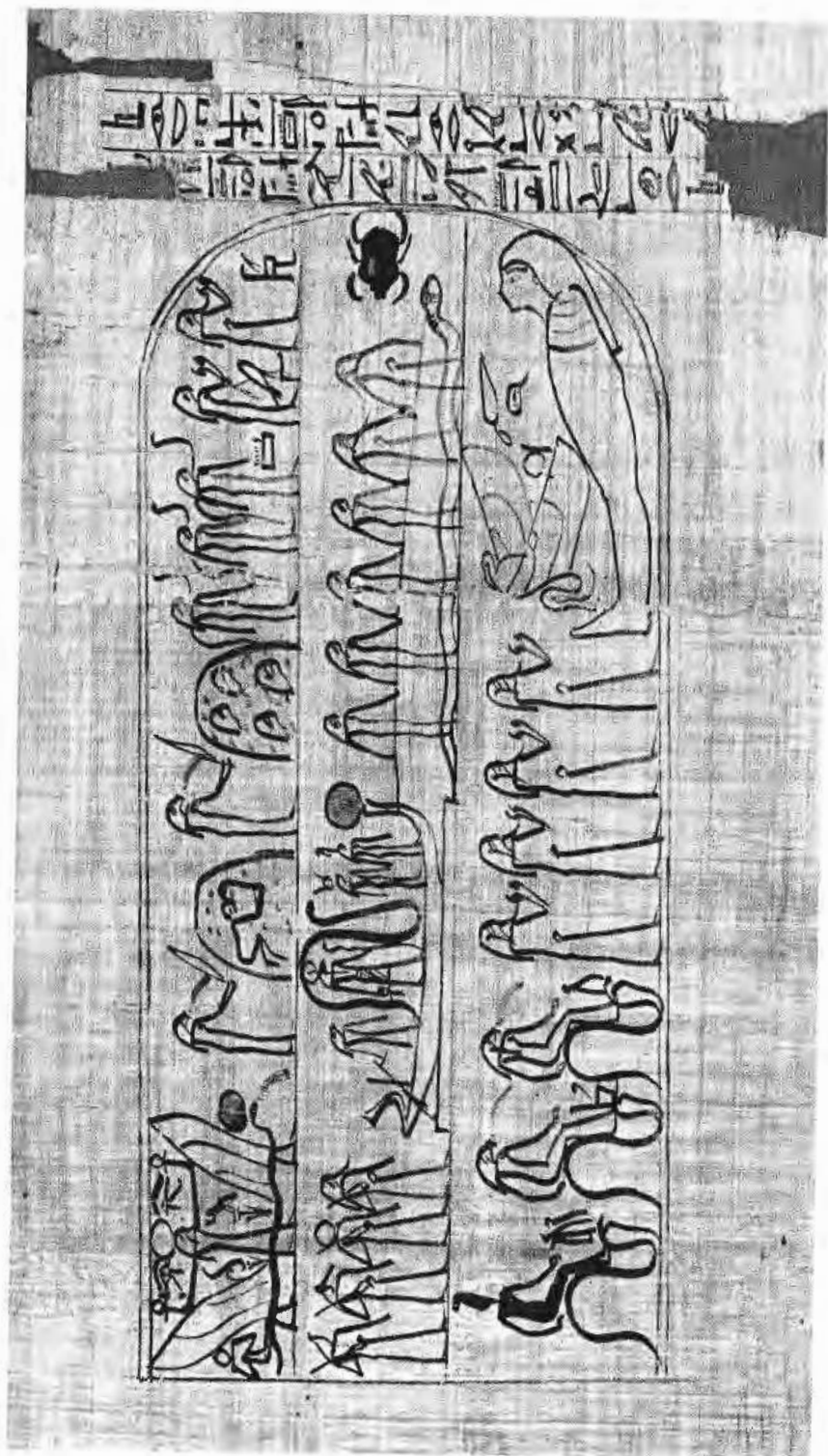


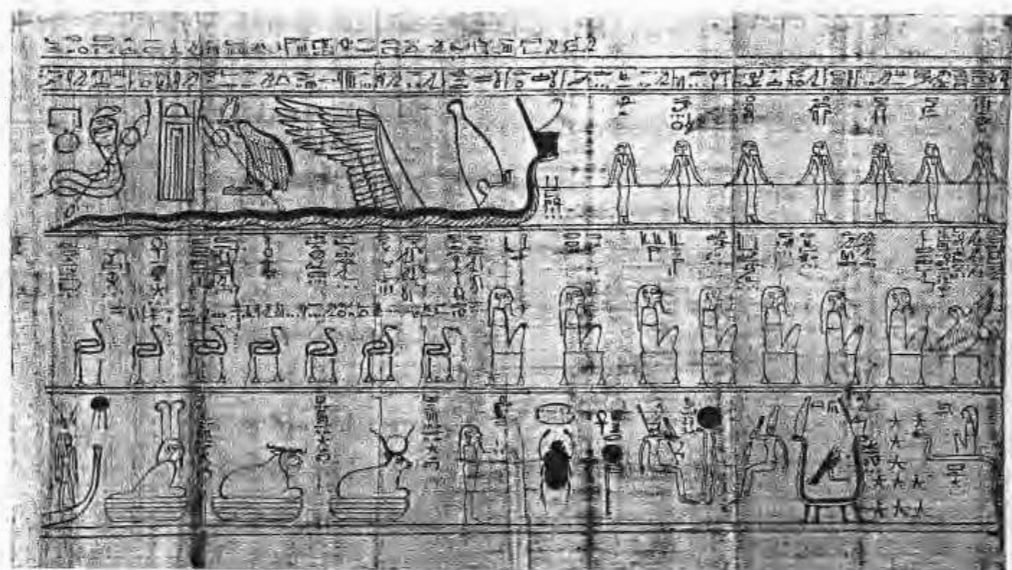
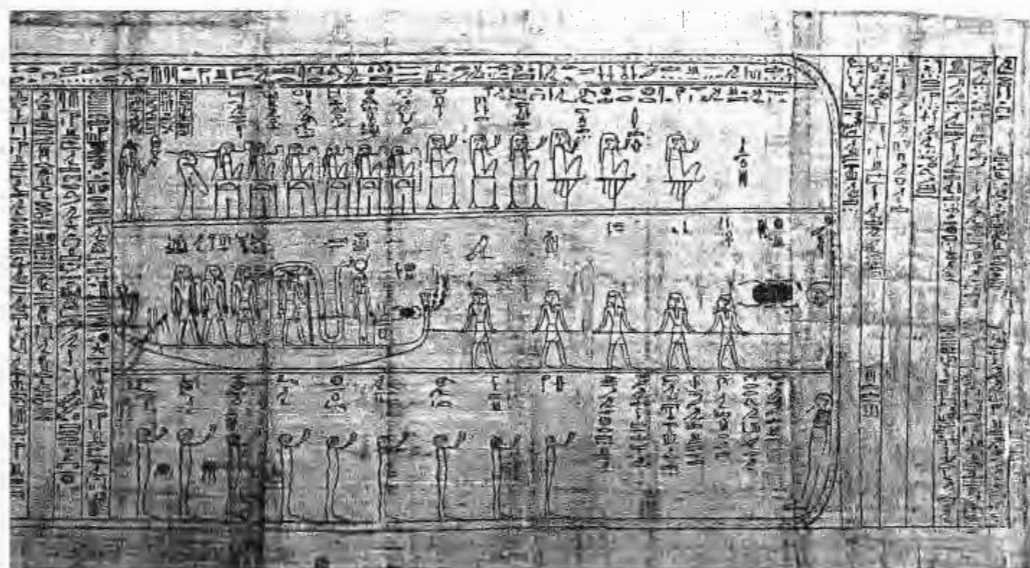
b

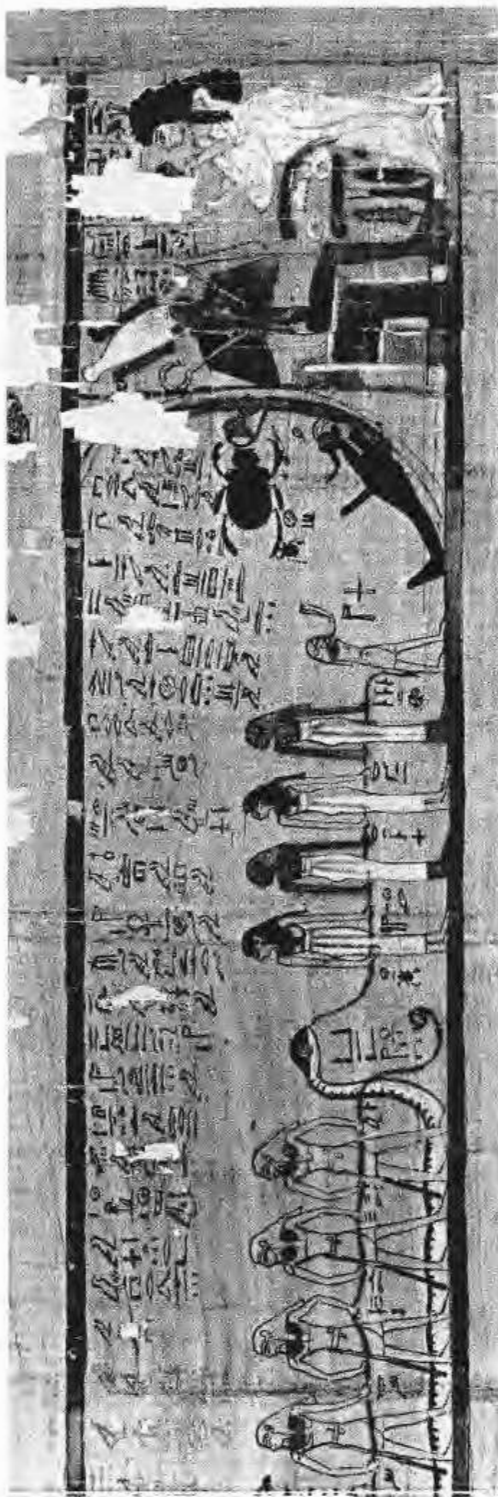
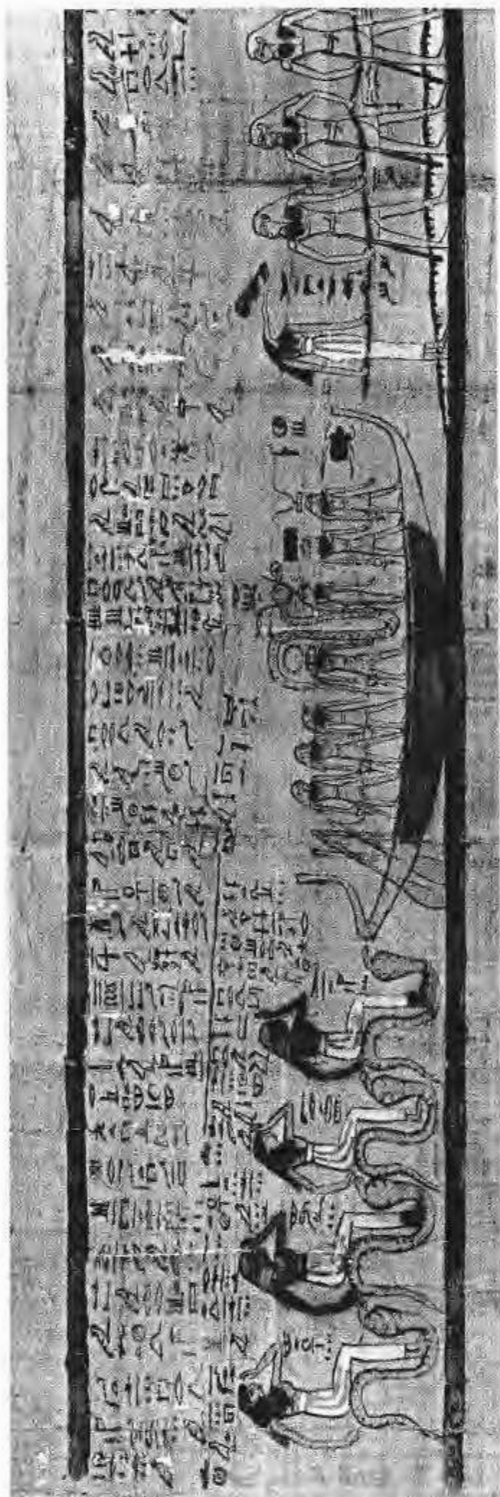




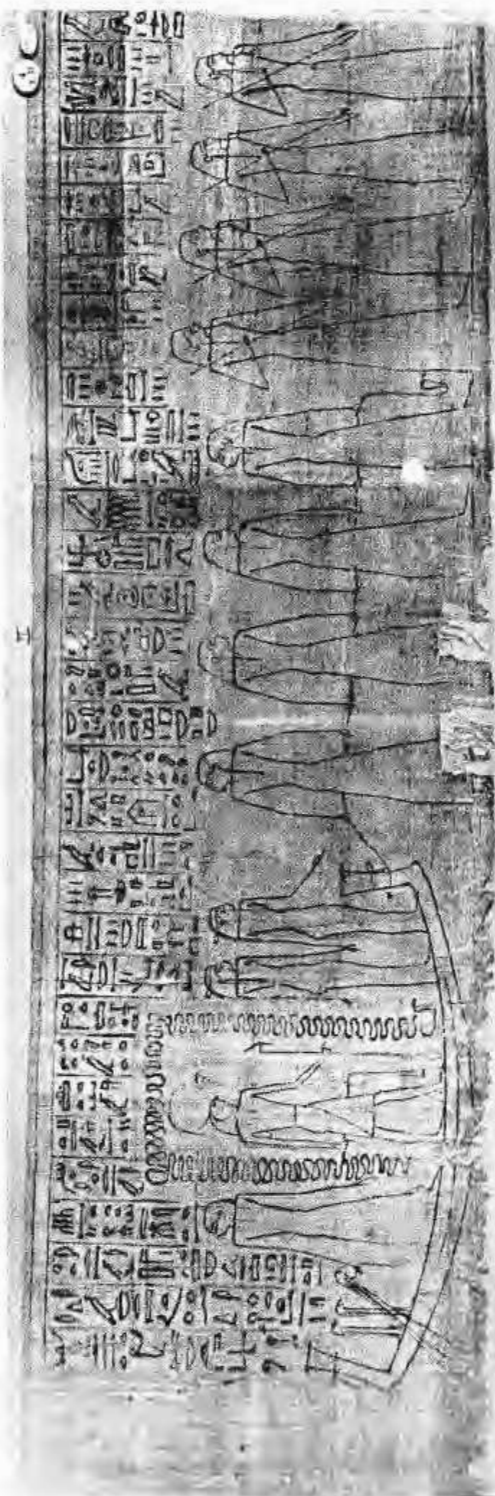




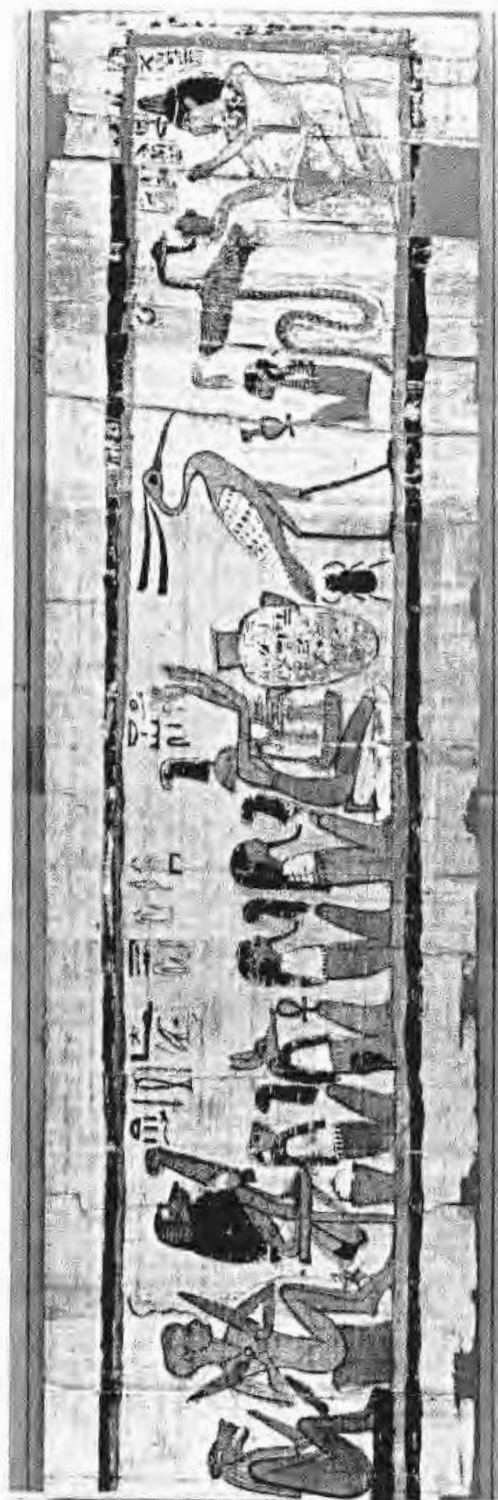




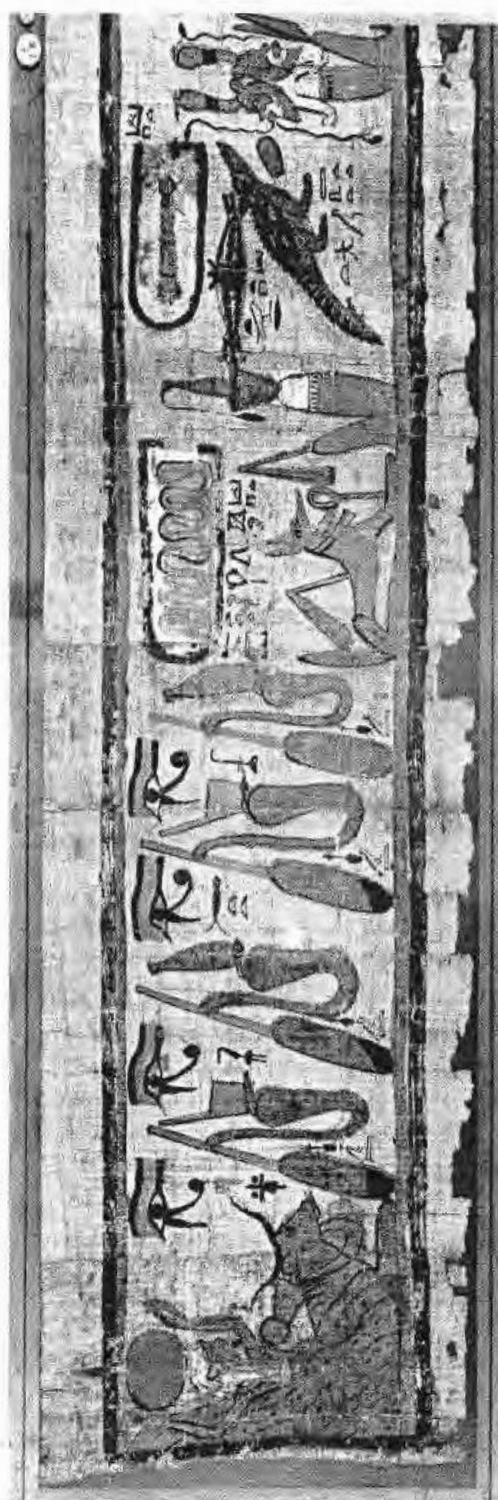








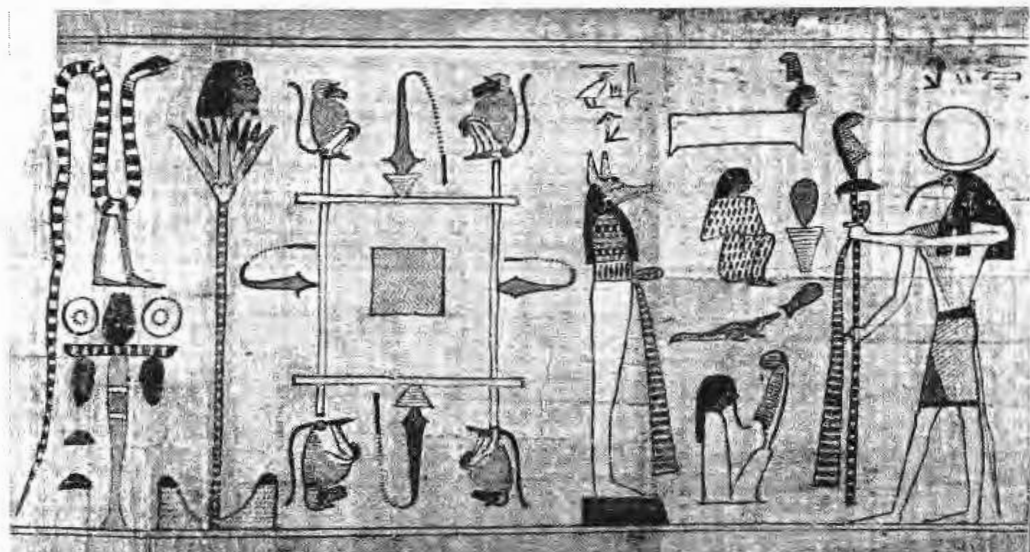
a



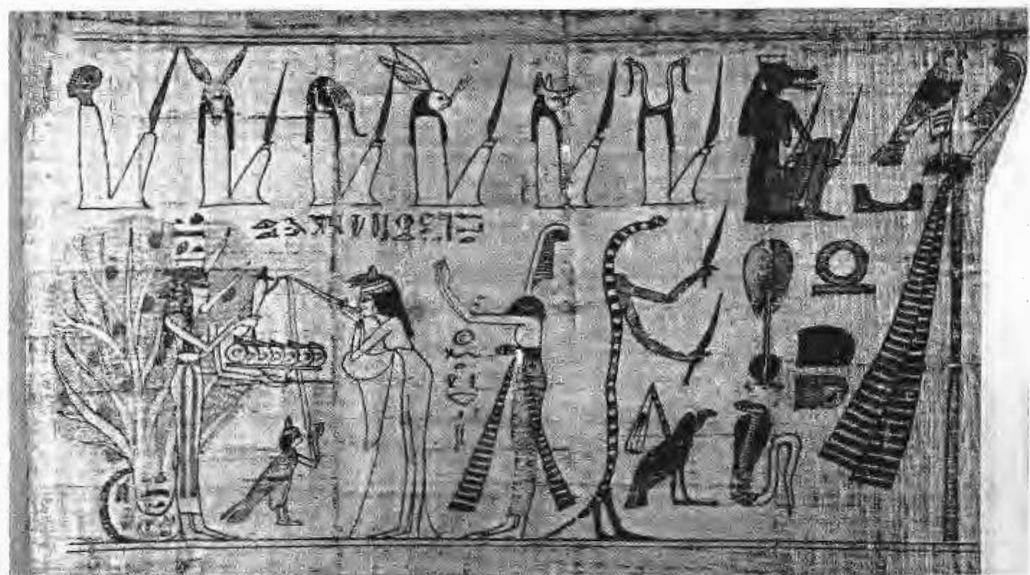
b

(For Plate 42 please turn over!)

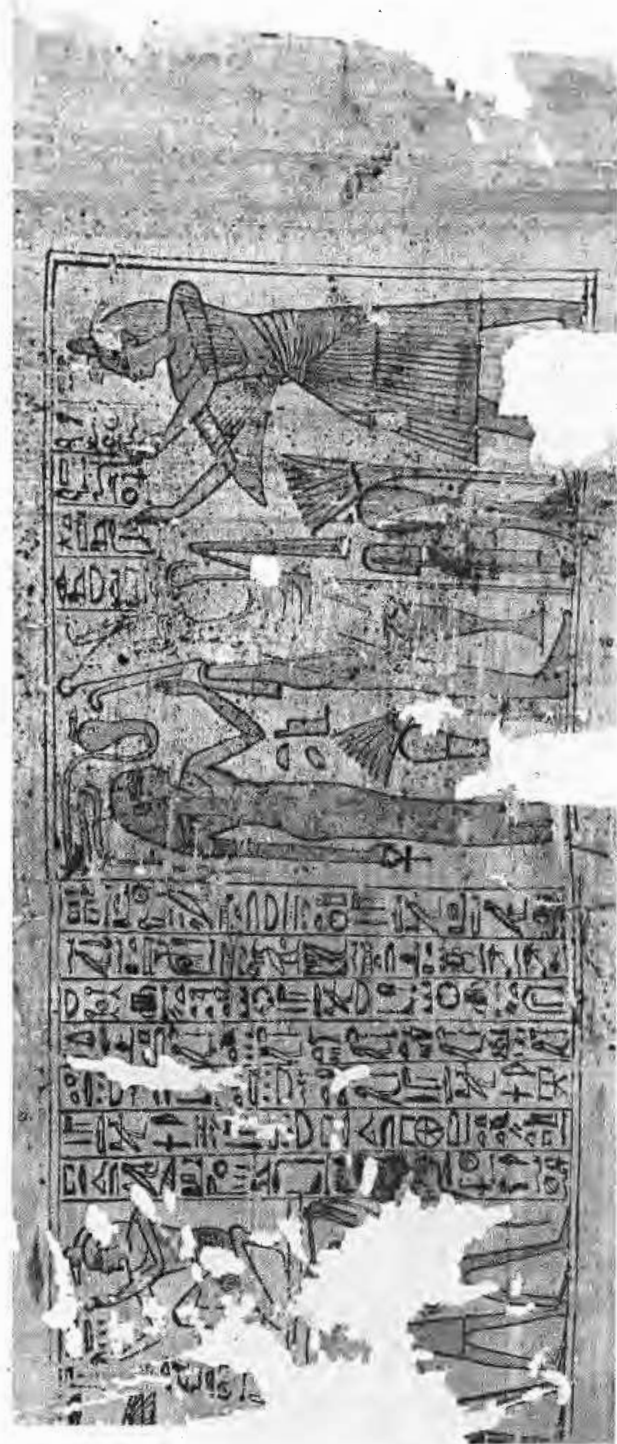
PLATE 47a-b



a



b

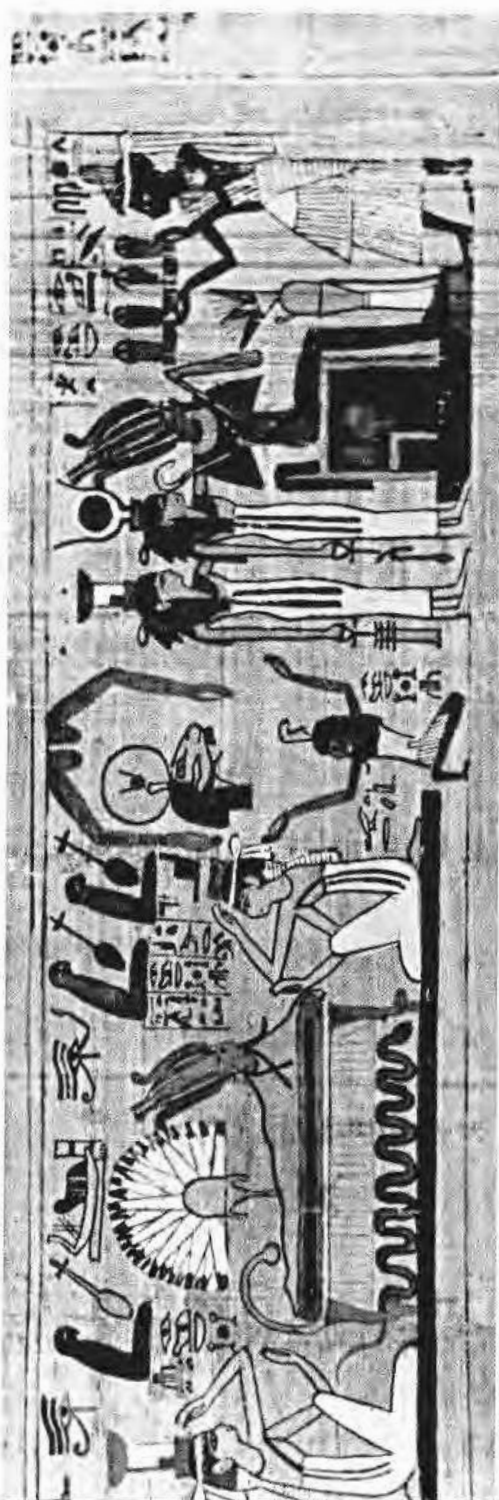


a

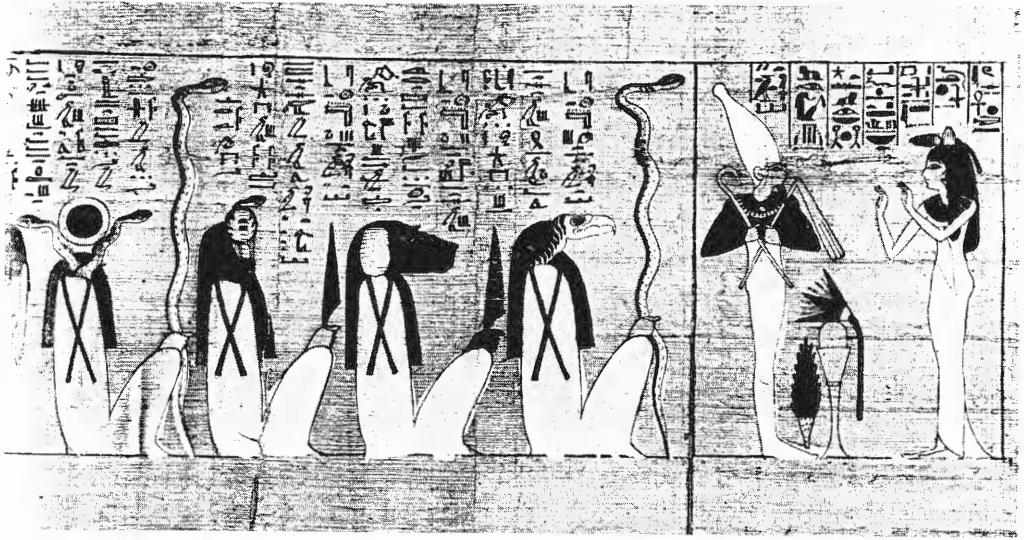


b





a



b



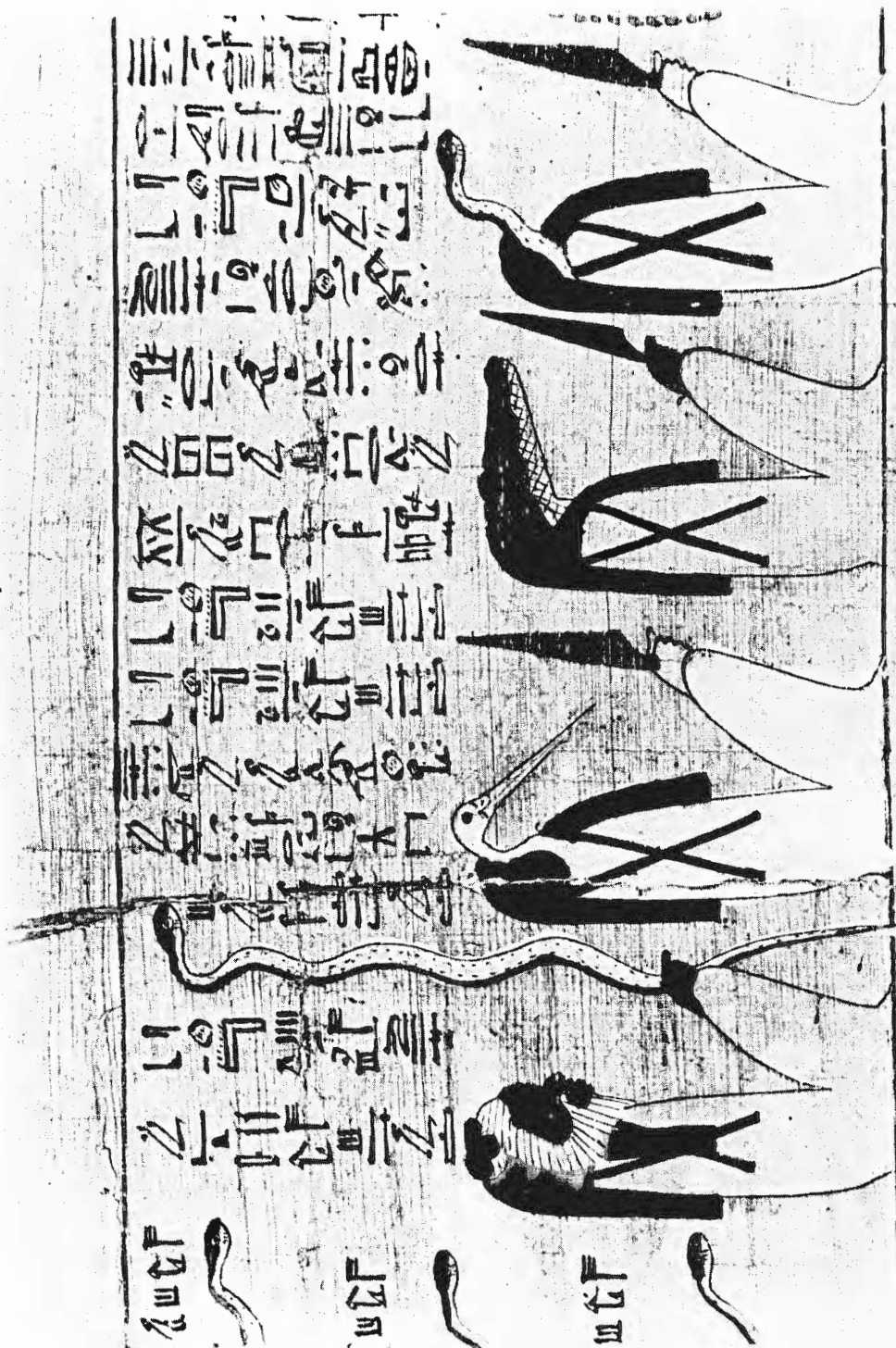
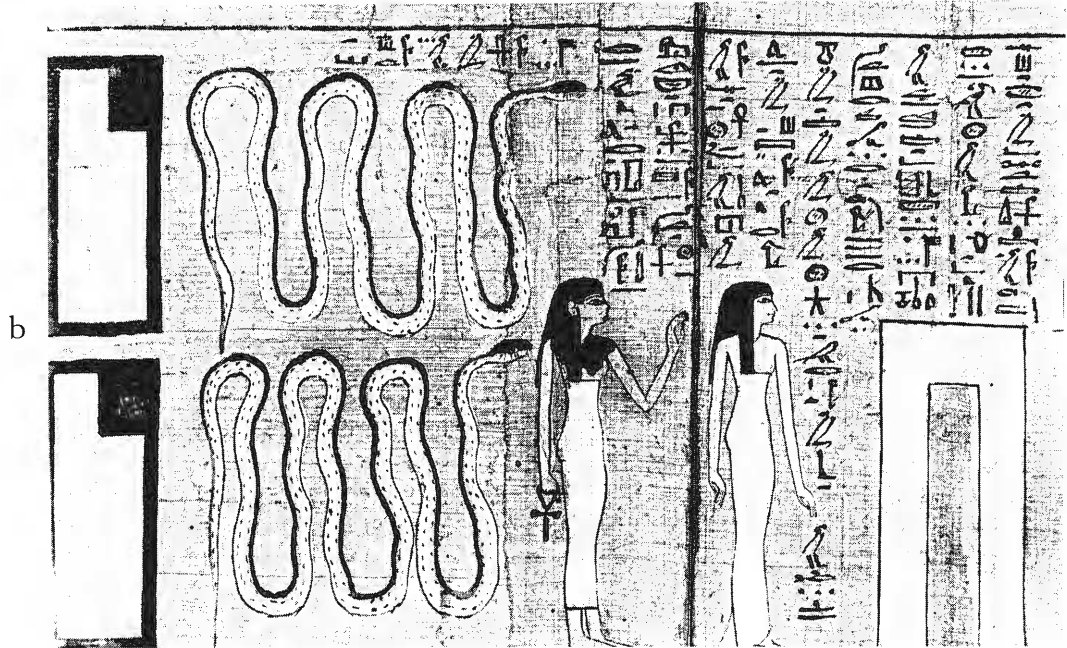
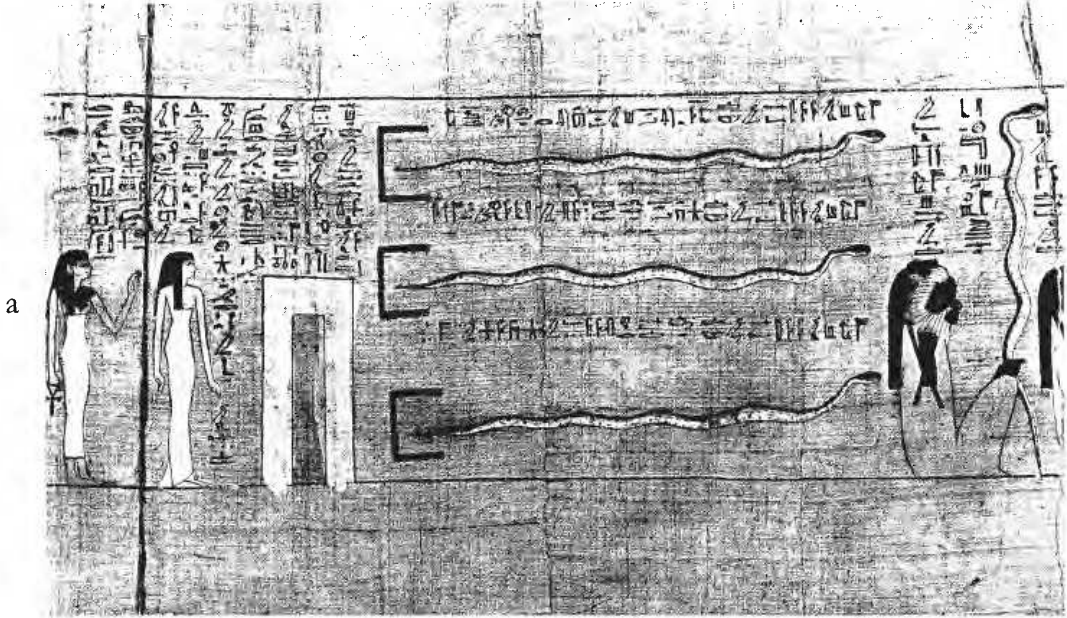
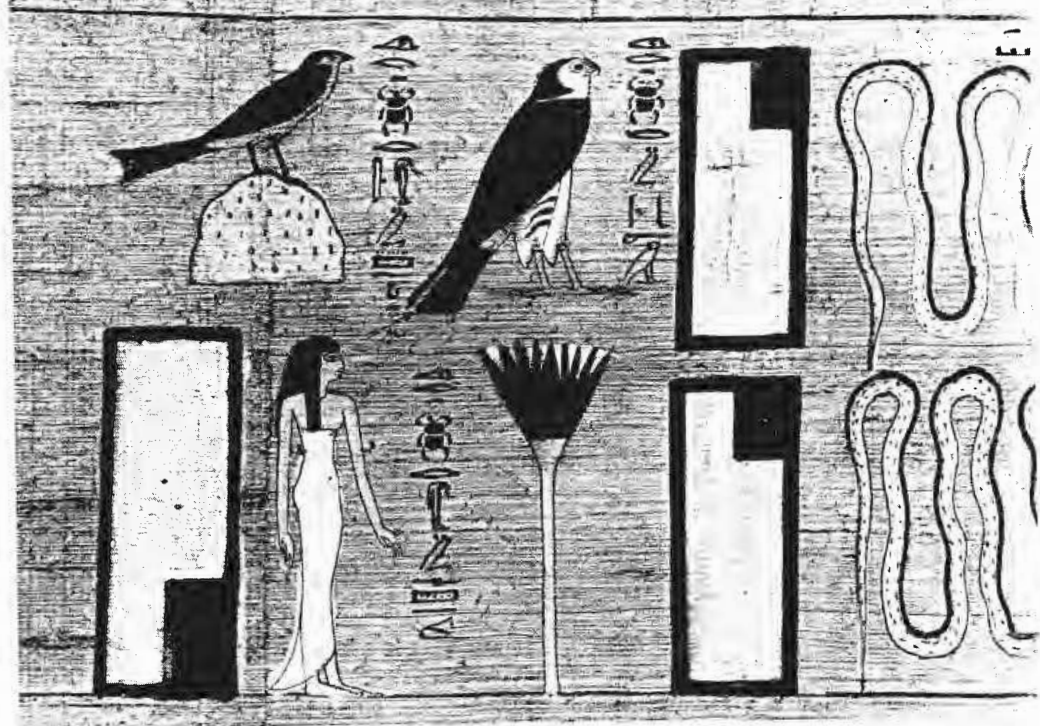
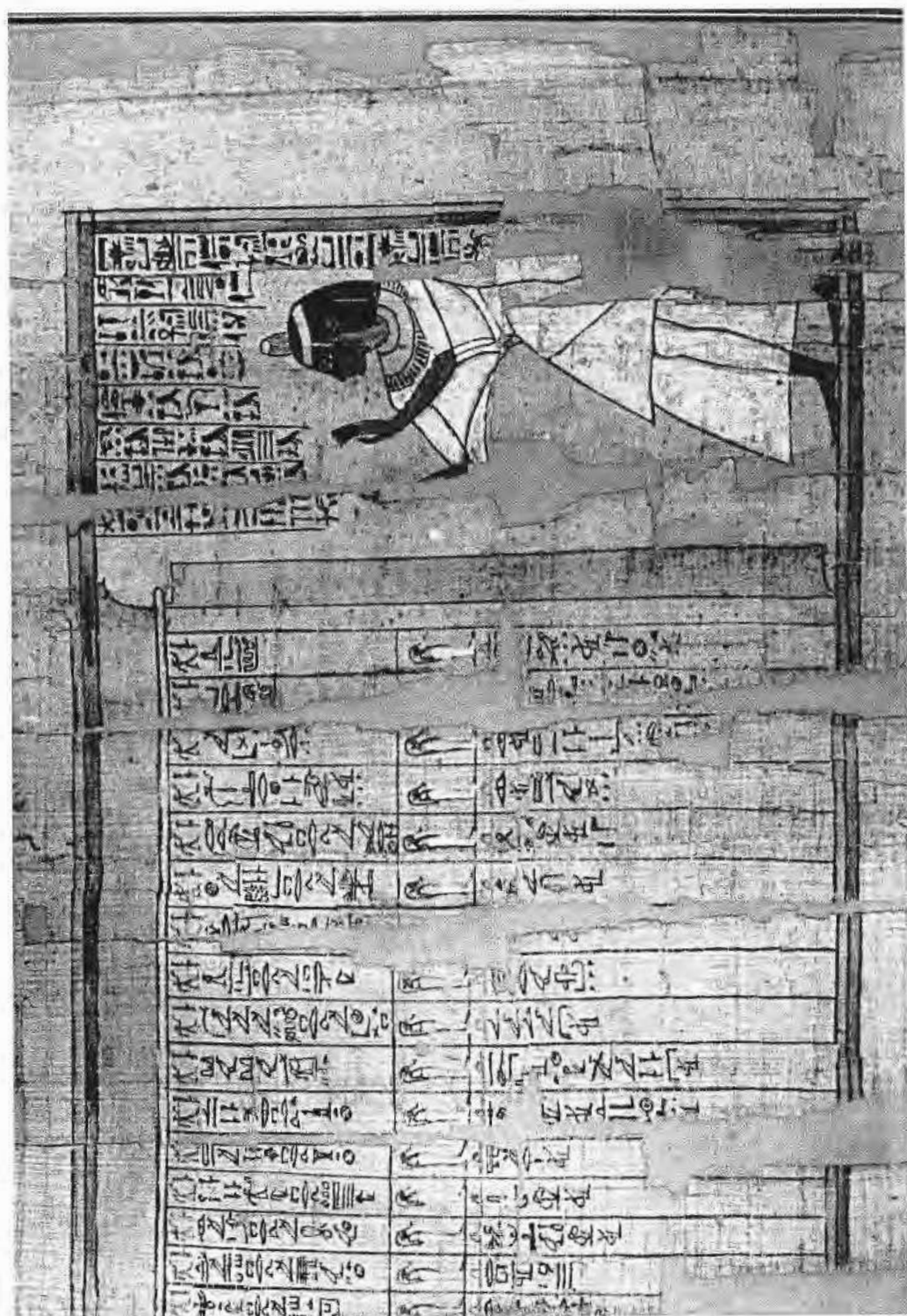


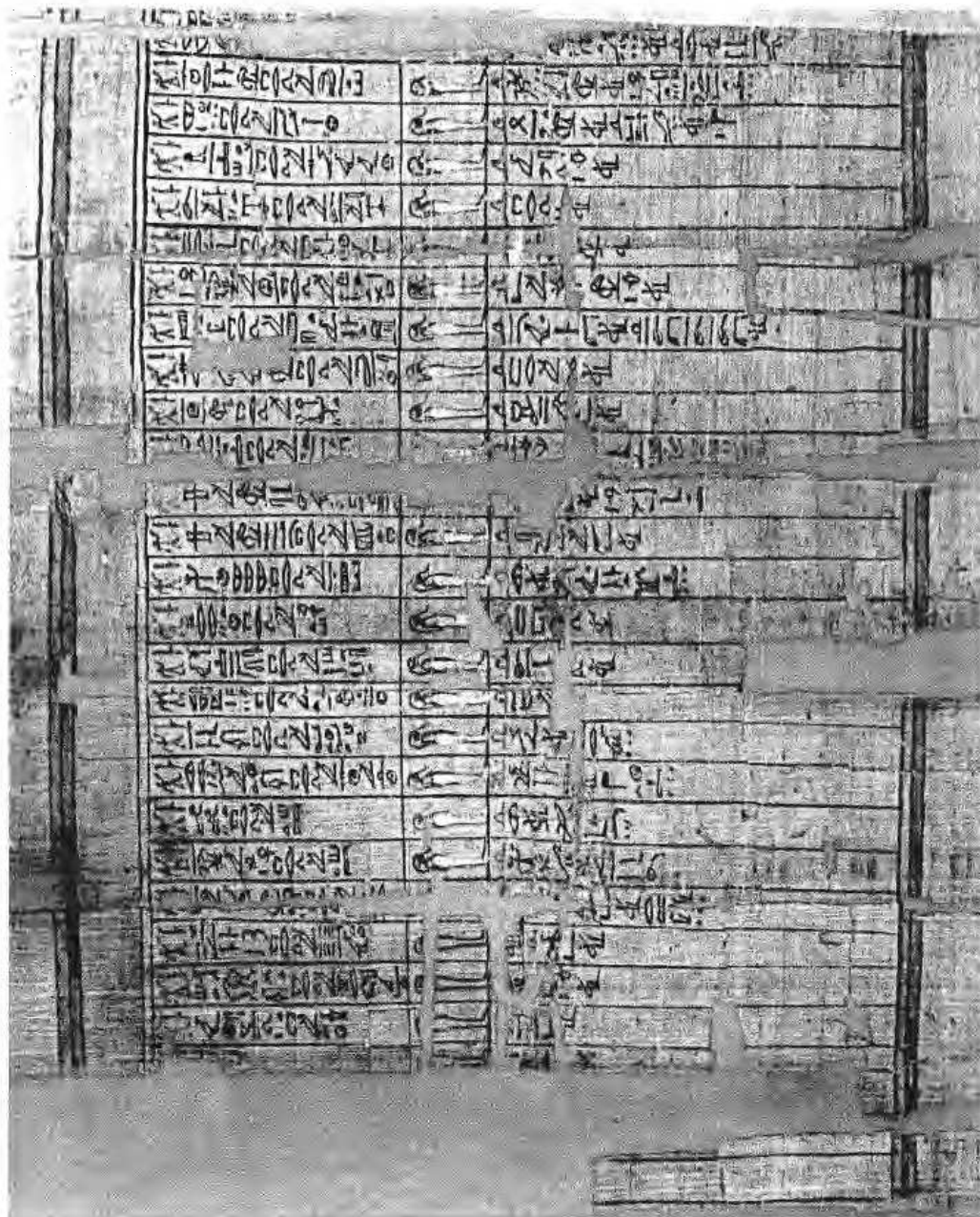
PLATE 44a-b

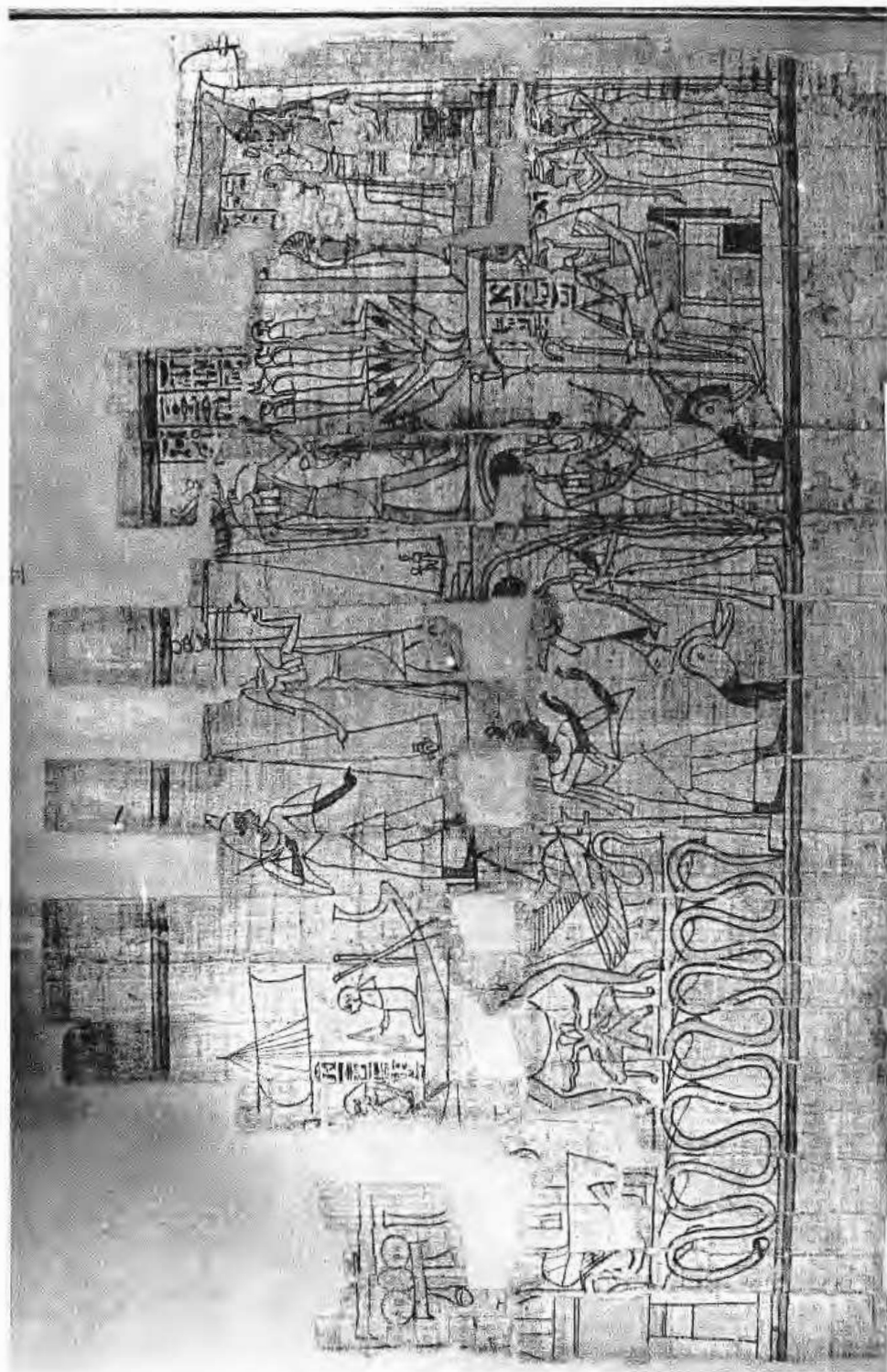




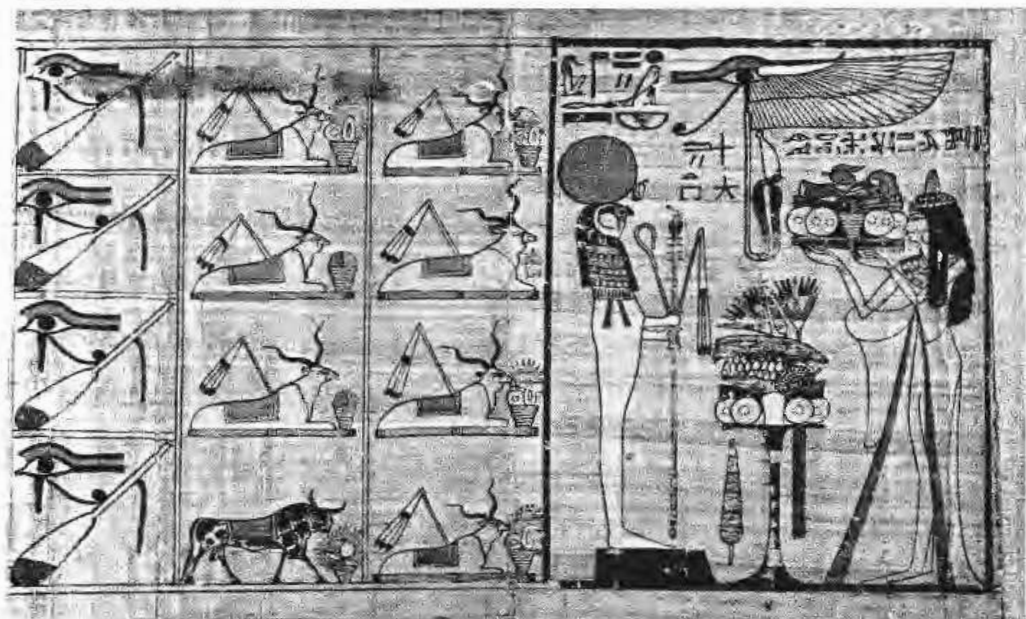


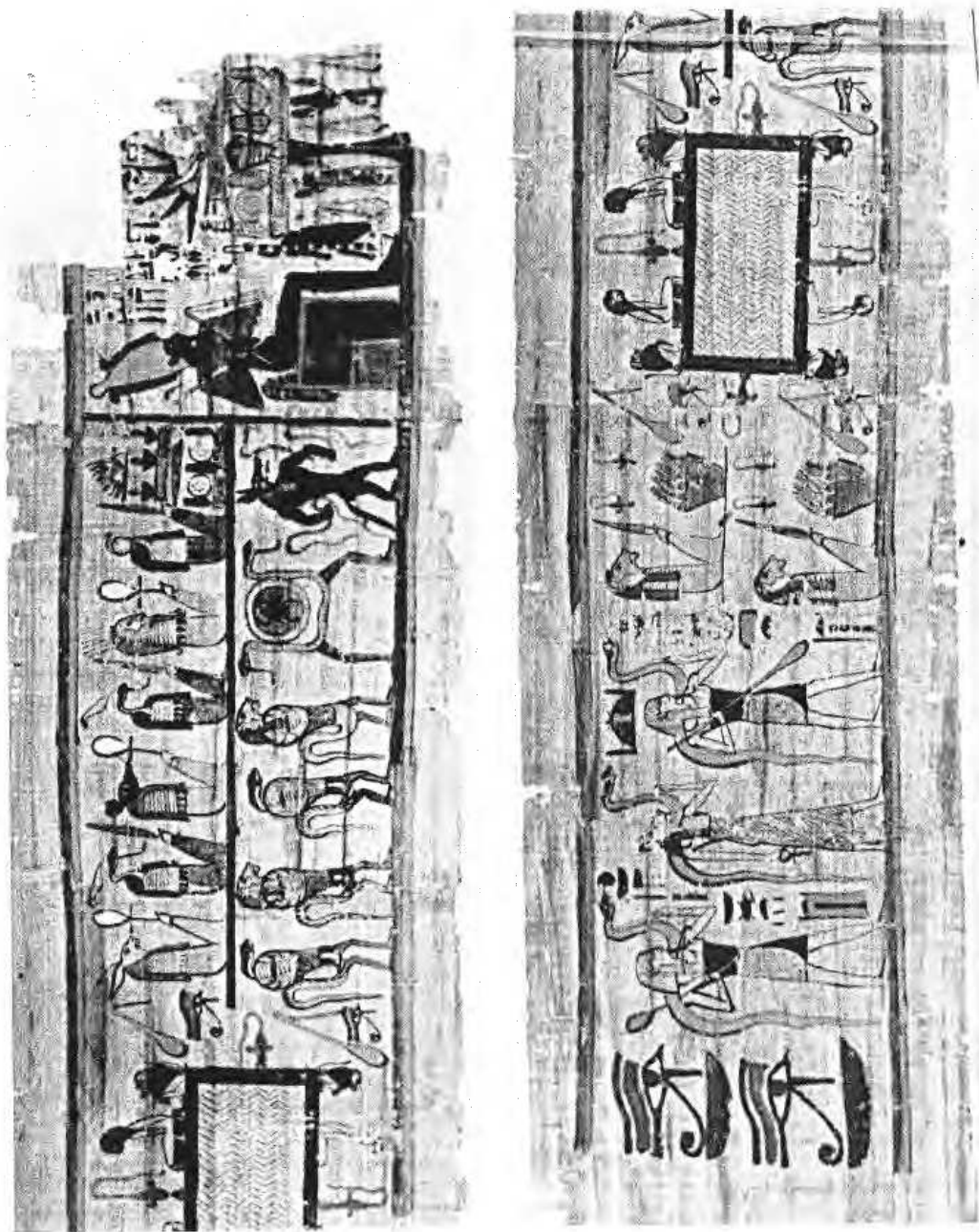




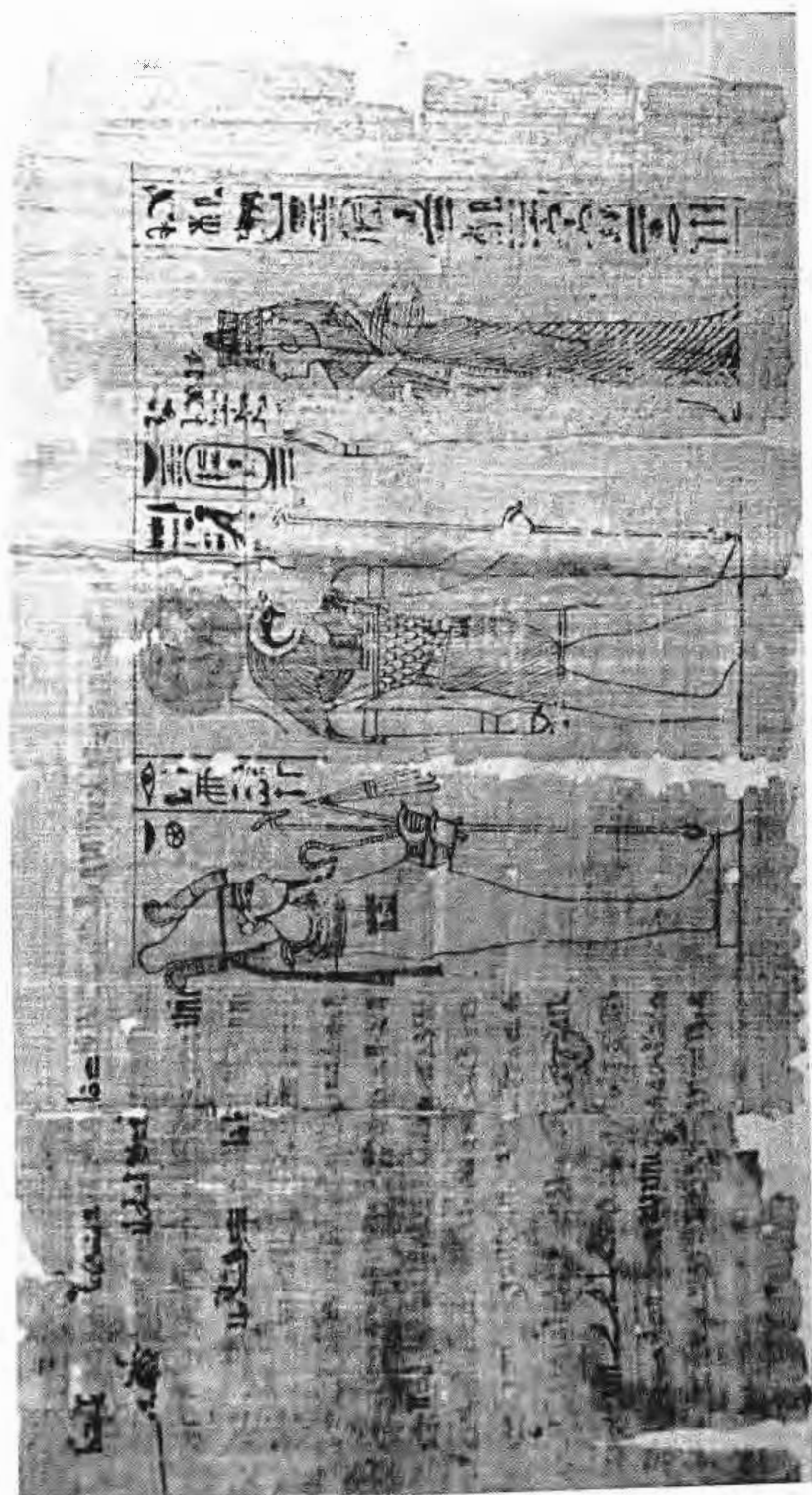


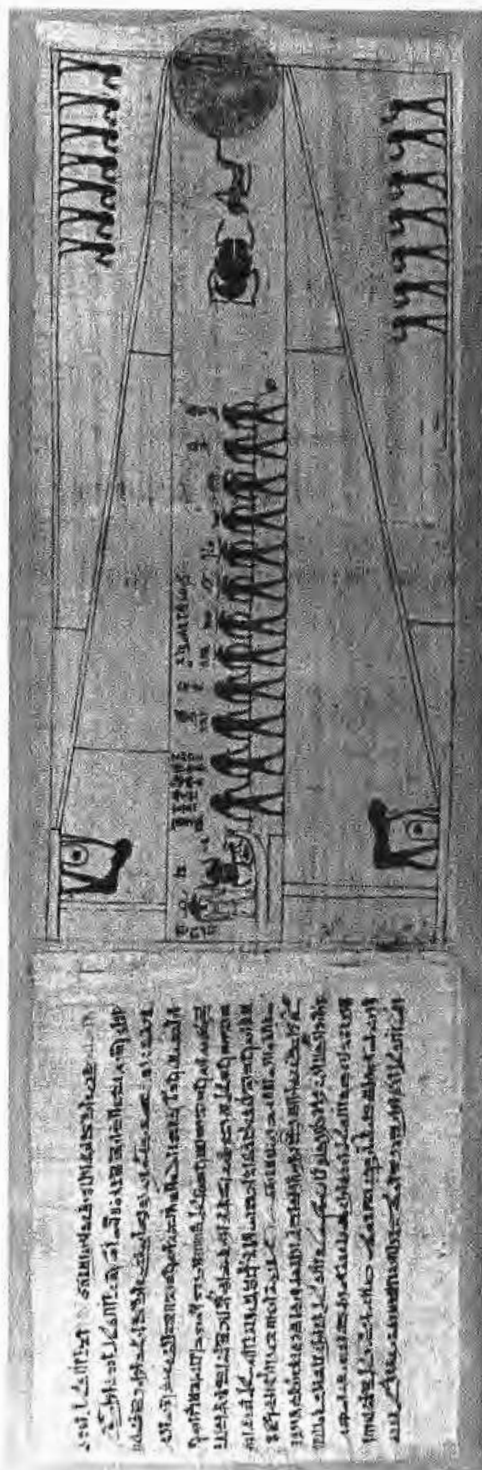




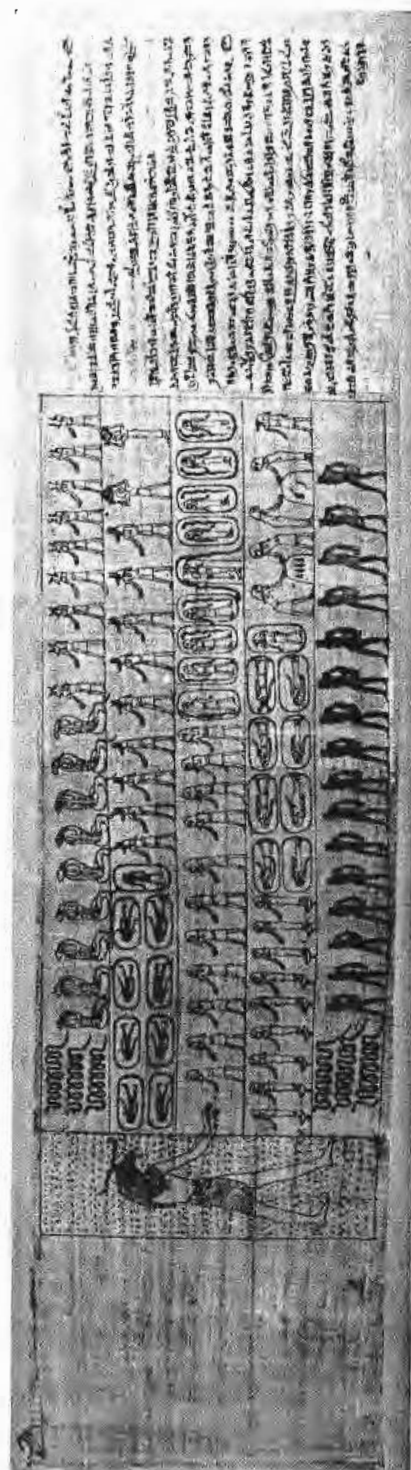








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